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## THE ANGLICAN REUNION MOVEMENT AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH*

The Anglican Church is the generally accepted name for what is really a group of Churches which have inter-communion and close racial and historical associations but no universal regimen. There is no Anglican pope or patriarch. There is no definite body of canon law which is accepted by Anglicans everywhere.

The Anglican Church comprises the Established Church of England, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, the dis-established Churches of Ireland and Wales, the daughter Churches of the various British colonies, certain missionary Churches which have become autonomous, and last but not least the Episcopal Church in this country.

A difficulty, however, arises in describing Anglicanism. The mention of any other Protestant body at once suggests a distinctive religious idea; that is not true of Anglicanism. Here some sort of hyphen is necessary; one must add Low, High or Broad to the term in order to get a clear notion. Even then further distinctions are necessary for a full understanding. This complicates my task.

In speaking of the Anglican Reunion Movement it is impossible to treat it as something that is definite in form and positive in object. That a movement towards Reunion has been characteristic

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of Anglicanism during the past one hundred years is evident; but it is a movement in many directions; it ought really be called a centrifugal movement, or better still, a number of movements. There is, however, a common factor. Anglicanism has felt its isolation and is trying to move somewhere. It has moved towards Rome; it has moved towards other Protestant bodies; it has moved towards philosophies that can hardly be called Christian. When I say " it " I mean that certain groups of Anglicans each claiming to express the best teaching of their Church have sincerely tried to end the present intolerable condition of the Christian world.

No Reunion Movement has been undertaken by the Established Church officially, for this would need the coöperation of Parliament. There is, nevertheless, an Anglicanism which is to be considered apart from the Establishment. Its highest expression is the Lambeth Conference which meets every ten years. This Conference is not official but it carries very great weight. The attendance from all parts of the world of the episcopate which creates it is purely voluntary, and any Anglican is at liberty to question its authority. The Conference has busied itself in the important matter of the Reunion of Christians. It has never approached the Holy See. The relationship between the Catholic Church and Anglicanism has always been carried on by unofficial bodies. When the pope speaks to England, he speaks not to the Anglican Church —but to the English people or to the Catholic Church in England. When Anglicans address the Holy See they do so either by Committees who only represent groups of Anglicans, or through the Archbishops of York and Canterbury speaking quite apart from their character as officers of Government. Strictly speaking, there has been no interrelationship of any kind between the Anglican Church as a whole and the Catholic Church, for there is no spokesman for the Anglican Church who represents its entire membership.

For the first three hundred years of its existence the Anglican Church had no relation with any other native religious body except to aid in its suppression. For non-English-speaking Christians it had only a passing interest if not a positive dislike.

In England the Catholic Church had been reduced to the point of extinction by persecution which is unparalleled not only in intensity but also in duration. For the first one hundred and fifty years the persecution was violent; for the next one hundred and fifty years it was one of social and political ostracism, which was far more successful. England became during that period one of the most Protestant countries and the consistent champion of all those who were opposed to the Holy See. The Nonconformists, *i.e.*, those Protestants who refused to conform to the established religion, were meanwhile reduced to a condition of servility and futility. All this can hardly be said to have been the work of the Anglican Church as a Church. The work was really done by the State, or ruling class, to which the Anglican Church was effectively attached not only by law but also by the loyalty of its members.

The Anglican Church was isolated in sympathy from Catholic and Nonconformist alike. This isolation came to an end quite abruptly in the year 1832. The change was due to three constitutional enactments of the most important character. In 1828, Nonconformity was politically emancipated; in 1829, there followed Catholic Emancipation; and in 1832, the climax came with the Reform of Parliament. It was thus that Great Britain escaped the violent revolutions that were taking place elsewhere. The change was expressed by a new and unheard-of attitude on the part of Anglicans towards other Christians. For the first time they became interested in the reunion of the scattered forces of Christianity. The reason is not difficult to find.

It is to be found in two related facts. The first is the more remote and by itself it might not have affected any change. It was the discovery that the Methodist Revival and still more the indifference of the masses to religion had left the Anglican Church with few friends and little more than a half of all the religious Church membership in the country. The other fact was that the suppressed non-Anglicans were now provided with a vote for the first time since the Reformation, and the voting power was enormously extended with the disappearance of the rotten boroughs. A new distribution of elective districts now gave the Catholics and Nonconformists a dangerous weapon with which to avenge themselves

on their persecutor. Would they vote against Church Establishment? It was feared that they would do so, and the politicians made their arrangements with this thought in view. But there was really little to be feared. The Church of England is still established, although its communicants do not now number more than either the Catholics or the Nonconformists.

This fear gave rise to a self-examination and an awakening. That awakening has been called the Oxford Movement. The Oxford Movement was really twofold. Two Movements began and these two Movements still exist. They are known as the High Church or Anglo-Catholic Movement, and its rival the Broad Church or Modernist Movement. Their names have changed but the current of the continuity has not been broken. Neither of them was without antecedents. The Anglo-Catholics, whose leader was Newman, replaced the older High Church political party; the Broad Church revived the historic latitudinarians. These twins struggled like Jacob and Esau and they are struggling still. Their activities, even in their mutual antagonisms, have brought renewed life to what almost everyone thought, one hundred years ago, a dying Church. Their activities were vitally connected with Reunion; and necessarily so. The danger to the Church of England lay in its isolation; for, at a critical time even the most insular Englishman could hardly regard the Christian Deity as a National God. In this dual Movement the Anglo-Catholics looked backwards to tradition and sought for sanctions. The Broad Church Movement looked forward and found its anchorage in experience. One was dubbed reactionary; the other, radical. The first looked for a formula by which existing religions could unite without disowning their past; the other looked for a method by which existing religions could be welded together despite the entanglements of the past. It is with the first of these Movements that we are chiefly concerned because its tendency has always been towards Catholicism; but the other cannot be lost sight of because it has acted as a foil.

I have said that the year 1832 marked the great change when Reunion became a word of supreme importance. In this momentous year Keble preached his famous sermon at Oxford which was in reality a challenge to the rival Broad Church Party. From 1688

till then the Church of England knew little of religious internal strife since it simply accepted its position of privilege; for the future it was to become a battleground of contending parties. I have only mentioned two of these parties, because the third group, the Low Church party, is now practically dead. It was the successor of a once triumphant Calvinism. It passed from the picture because it was unable to justify its existence.

From the beginning of the Oxford Movement, the Anglo-Catholics had in mind the possibility of Corporate Reunion with the Holy See, but it was lost sight of for a time by the individual secessions of Newman and Ward and many of the Oxford men. The idea was soon to be revived and it has remained as something desirable ever since. As it is impossible to give a complete history of the development of the Anglo-Catholic Movement I will single out a few incidents that are of importance.

*The De Lisle Movement.* The first took place in 1857. In this year Ambrose March Phillips de Lisle came forward as the chief sponsor for a definite plan of reunion. He was a convert. But his conversion had taken place long before the Oxford Movement. It was through the gentle influence of his tutor, an émigré priest from France, that he had been attracted to the Church. His mind was removed from the rancors of controversy and it seemed to him that what was most needed was an Association of all Christians in a common prayer for Reunion. He associated himself with an eccentric, but energetic, and positive clergyman of the Church of England, Frederick George Lee, the Rector of All Saints Church, Lambeth, in whose parish was the official residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. De Lisle and Lee established a Society which was known as the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom.

The name was rather unfortunate. The unity of Christendom seemed to be contrasted with the unity of the Catholic Church. There was another difficulty. De Lisle, in common with some other Catholics, seemed to have believed in the validity of Anglican ordinations, despite the fact that they had been treated as null and void since the days of Cardinal Pole. It was thought that a recognition of their validity would facilitate corporate reunion,

as in the case of the schismatic bodies in the Orient. This fallacy died hard; it is not quite dead yet. The real crux is unity of faith and regimen. By accepting the ordinations of Anglicans and Greeks, it was only a step to the Three Branch Theory, so dear to the Anglicans of that time. Of course, De Lisle did not believe in this theory, but it was the foundation principle of his Anglican associates. He might, however, have thought that there was a potential unity between the branches that only needed visible realization.

There was a generous response to the Association by French priests who had not forgotten the hospitality extended by the British Government to the sacerdotal refugees during the Revolution.

The idea of the Church being regarded as divided into three parts alarmed the Holy See. Through the influence of Manning, the Association was formally condemned by Rome on September 16, 1864, by an encyclical *Apostolicae Sedis;* and since this condemnation was not fully understood by the Association, it was amplified by a letter from the Secretary of State, Cardinal Patrizi, on November 8, 1865, *Ad quosdam puseistas Anglicos.* The decision was that Catholics should not join religious societies which were under the guidance of heretics or schismatics.

The Association included in its membership Father Lockhart, a distinguished Oxford convert, and no less a personage than Bishop Moriarty of Kerry. It was even whispered that ten Anglican bishops were sympathetic (their names were carefully suppressed) and also that they were desirous of presenting a gold chalice to Cardinal Barnabò who was supposed to be friendly to the Association. The three-branch theory of Christendom was thus condemned. After its condemnation, the Association embarked upon another enterprise. Still holding to its belief that valid ordination was the foundation of Corporate Reunion, three of its members: Lee, Mossman and Seccombe, took ship to Venice in 1877, and on the high seas were baptized, confirmed and ordained through all the orders to the episcopate by a schismatic Greek prelate. On their return to England these three bishops issued a pretentious letter calling on the English clergy to make their ordinations unques-

tionably valid. Lee and Mossman died in the Catholic Church after some years of pastoral work in the Church of England. The former used to allude to the Archbishop of Canterbury as one of his parishoners. No steps were taken to discipline these men, and the hierarchy which they created still exists secretly. Their Movement was almost forgotten; for, during the controversies that surrounded the calling of the Vatican Council the idea of Corporate Reunion disappeared. It was to be revived later.

*The Lambeth Conference of 1880.* Meanwhile Anglicans, not of the Anglo-Catholic Party, had become aware of the pressing necessity of Protestant Reunion in the face of a growing secularism produced by misunderstandings of evolutionary theories. In 1880, the Lambeth Conference made a proposal to all other Church organizations. It proposed that all Christians should unite on the basis of what was afterwards called a Quadrilateral. All should accept

a) The Holy Bible as the written word of God.
b) The historic episcopate adapted to local needs.
c) Two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper celebrated in the words of Christ.
d) Two creeds, the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed.

This proposal was intended to attract the interest of the various Protestant bodies, rather than the Catholic Church, to which, however, it was not intended to be hostile. The proposal met with complete disdain. It was because of the insistence on the historic episcopate. Attempts were made to explain this episcopate in the broadest manner, but in vain. The other Protestants could only see in the Quadrilateral an attempt on the part of Episcopalians to absorb them into its communion.

Since this Quadrilateral has a later bearing on the Reunion projects with the Catholic Church, it is of interest to note that in 1920 a very important modification was made by the Lambeth Conference. An attempt was made to remove the objection to any reordination by a bishop. It was strongly asserted that there was no intention to declare any form of ordination invalid; indeed, quite the contrary. The purpose was to make all ordinations free from the criticism of invalidity. The Anglican bishops declared

that they themselves were willing to submit to what they called a commission or recognition from any authority, provided that no one was asked to deny his own standing. In a word there were to be mutual ordinations all around until everyone was satisfied. Then all would start off at zero with the same standing. Moreover, the episcopate could be so modified that it would not disturb the reasonable practices of any form of Christianity. This offer was treated with the same disdain as the earlier one; it smacked of a diplomacy that seemed somewhat dubious. It was, however, the basis for a later Reunion project.

*Anglican Orders.* Meanwhile, I must return to the nineties of the last century. The late Lord Halifax had met a Lazarist priest in Madeira, Abbé Portal. His Lordship was the undisputed head of the Anglo-Catholic Party. A friendship sprang up between these two devout men. The priest was astonished at the revelation made to him for the first time of the progress of Catholic beliefs and practices in the Anglican Church. He was invited to England and became still more surprised seeing only the Anglo-Catholic institutions. It appeared to him that the whole Anglican Church was ready to return to the Unity of Rome. Carried away by his enthusiasm, he was able to obtain an interview with Leo XIII. To the pontiff he told his story of the Catholic revival, coupling it with a strong condemnation of the attitude of the English Catholics toward it. The matter seemed so serious to the pope that he summoned Cardinal Vaughan to Rome to answer the charges. It was with some difficulty that the pope was satisfied that Abbé Portal had given him a roseate description of the situation. The upshot of this friendship of Lord Halifax and Portal was the reopening of the case of Anglican orders, strongly against the advice of the English Catholics. We all know how this matter was settled. The cause was discussed with the most complete frankness. Lord Halifax and his friends were given the fullest opportunity to present their case. The Commission was composed for the most part of men who had been sympathetic with, if not actually convinced of, the validity of Anglican orders. Some of them, like Gasquet and Duchesne, had written on the subject in a way that made the Anglicans think that their cause would be settled favorably. But

as the Commission went into the matter scientifically the facts became clearer to them and the final decision given on September 12, 1896, was definite and condemnatory. The Bull *Apostolicae Curae* pronounced Anglican orders null and void. There was a great deal of disappointment with the result and some hard things were said.

*Spencer Jones's Book.* In 1902, there appeared a remarkable book. It was received without the condemnation that might have been expected. This was doubtless due to the fact that it had a preface by Lord Halifax. There were strong suspicions that his Lordship would eventually go over to Rome, and it was considered dangerous to oppose him. The book was written by a married clergyman of the Church of England who is still alive. It was not a revolutionary book because there had been others before it of like nature; but such books had in the past only been written by men who were contemplating a submission to Rome, or who were not regarded as representative Anglicans. But here was a book by a representative country clergyman, and it was introduced by Lord Halifax. Its purpose was plain. It submitted a plan for Reunion which would accept every doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church. Moreover, it did not submit this plan as a compromise or as a sacrifice in the cause of unity; it offered the Catholic Church as the complete embodiment of Christian tradition. The book was Spencer Jones's *England and the Holy See.* There is no time to describe the book at length. It will be enough to say that it offered this argument:

> Rome cannot change without ceasing to be Rome.
> Anglicans are constantly changing.
> If there is to be reunion the Anglicans must accept Rome.
> They can accept Rome with the fullest confidence.
> But they need not make individual submissions.
> The Church of England has never really been severed from Rome.

This book has revived the movement sponsored by de Lisle with this difference: it completely throws over the Branch Theory, but it discourages individual conversions and supplies new reasons for staying in the Anglican Church. A small but very determined Party has grown out of the influence of this book. It is dubbed

by its enemies the " papalist party "; it prefers to call itself the Pro-Roman Party or Anglo-Roman Party as opposed to the other Anglo-Catholics who are styled anti-Romans. It is exceedingly difficult for the Pro-Romans to free themselves of the charge of formal schism. They admit that Rome is the centre of unity, but still they do not make submission to it. Why? The answer to this would take a long time. But the general idea is that an individual submission to Rome creates bad feeling and throws others back from the Roman path. It is better to work for Corporate Reunion such as took place with the Greeks after the Councils of Lyons and Florence, and at the time of the Council of Brest. It might be said in rebuttal that the Greeks had always had a unity of their own, had always maintained the Catholic faith in substance at least, and that they had an undoubted hierarchy. The trouble with the Anglicans was that they had not one of these things. Most Pro-Romans admit that there cannot be a Corporate Reunion of the whole body. They ask for a Uniate Church in which the clergy can be married, the services said in English and certain customs allowed to remain.

*The Malines Conversations.* In 1920 the Lambeth Conference presented an opportunity to the Pro-Romans that they were not slow to take advantage of. The bishops had distinctly pledged themselves to submit to some form of ordination from anybody that demanded it. Possibly they were not thinking of Rome. With this declaration they coupled a most earnest appeal to all Christians, including Catholics, to unite on a common basis. Here was a chance for Lord Halifax and his constant friend Abbé Portal. They called on Cardinal Mercier at Malines and proposed some friendly and unofficial *conversations* between a few Anglican and Catholic clergymen. The Cardinal was then at the height of his popularity and his name was one to conjure with. He agreed to this proposal, which was not favorably regarded by the English Catholic bishops. Four of these *conversations* took place between 1921 and 1925. There was the greatest friendliness. Neither side made the least compromise; indeed, the addition of several new men on the Anglican side at the request of Canterbury made this impossible. The most interesting thing that happened was the reading of a

paper by the Cardinal which was not written by himself and from which he carefully disassociated himself. It contained a proposal of the most astounding character. It suggested that there should be two Catholic bodies in England, one for Catholics of the Roman rite, and the other a united body presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury with patriarchial rights and only bound to Rome by the barest essentials of faith and practice. The reading of this paper practically concluded the usefulness of the *conversations*, for both sides must have seen the utter utopian character of the proposal. Yet such a thing is not impossible in the sense that it could not take place; but it would be wholly dependent upon the willingness of the Anglican hierarchy to free itself from its traditions and do so with complete unanimity. In this lay its utter impracticability. The *conversations* ceased after the death of Cardinal Mercier. Lord Halifax was with him at his deathbed and received his episcopal ring which now adorns a chalice used at York Cathedral.

*The Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order of 1927.* This Conference had been arranged over a period of twenty years. The war had postponed it. It was sponsored and financed by American Episcopalians. It engaged the interests of the more moderate Anglo-Catholic sympathies, especially of Bishop Brent. It invited every form of Christianity to send delegates and about 100 churches were represented. The pope was requested to take part and a committee was sent to Rome to invite him. It was the answer to this invitation that has the most interest to us as Catholics.

The committee was received with the utmost consideration, but the reply was definite. The pope gave to his visitors a copy of the papal encyclical of 1864 and the explanatory letter of Cardinal Patrizi of 1865.

With this decision the door seems to be closed on the Catholic side for an immediate possibility of any United Church such as the "papalist" Anglicans desire. The increasing power of the Broad Church Party which is carried along by the prevailing revolutionary theories is now firmly in the saddle. The opening of the pulpits to ministers of other faiths, the loosening of the laws of matrimony, the blessing of some form of birth control,

the constant unpunished denials of the Virgin Birth and even of the Incarnation itself, the denial of the Resurrection as a historic fact—these are the realities of modern Anglicanism, whilst the Anglo-Catholic Movement becomes more and more a sect within a sect.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that Reunion theories are still vital issues. The internal history of the Anglican Church is of the greatest value; it may have still more importance in the future, for it has spread its influence over the whole Protestant world and has even awakened the Greek Church to a new interest in the West.

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# EARLY CATHOLIC PUBLISHERS OF PHILADELPHIA *

Up to the year 1816, when Fielding Lucas, Jr., opened his publishing house in Baltimore, Philadelphia was the sole Catholic publishing center of the United States. Even before the Revolution, Philadelphia won the distinction of having produced the first purely Catholic books printed in the United States. Catholics in the colonies, of course, had had to depend for their English reading matter on such books as could be printed in Dublin or London under the restrictions of the Penal Laws or to consult the amazing collection of works printed on the Continent by the Catholic refugees from early in the seventeenth century, since Catholic printing was generally forbidden in the Colonies, even in Maryland.

Yet Catholic books did appear. In 1738, the pioneer printer, Andrew Bradford, " at the Sign of the Bible, in Front-street," printed Fénelon's *Dissertation on Pure Love*. Then, in 1742, the great German printer, Christopher Saur, in Germantown, published an "A. B. C." edition in German of the *Imitation of Christ* for children; in 1749, he printed in English three books of the *Imitation* abridged " By a Female Hand "; and in 1750, he printed Fénelon's *Dissertation,* and also a fourth edition of the famous *Kleine Kempis* (a fifth appeared from him in 1773). St. Thomas More's *Utopia,* which ranks as a Catholic book, appeared from the press of James Chattin, " in Church-alley," in 1753. Saur set a certain fashion, for non-Catholic publishers, who before 1820 printed many translations from Bossuet, Masillon, Bourdaloue, Fénelon, Kempis, Millot, Maury, Barruel, Molina, Camoëns, Carli and others. Of these appearances of Catholic books, however, this paper does not treat. It is restricted to books that were printed and published by Catholics alone.

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## 1. Earliest Publications

It is, in a way, fitting that the first Catholic book venture should be the famous work which Dr. Burton tells us for a century nourished the faith and piety of English Catholics.[1] Bishop Richard Challoner's *Garden of the Soul* was printed without date "in Market Street" by Joseph Crukshank. Now Crukshank was not a Catholic, but from certain indications I conjecture that the editor may have been Father Robert Molyneux, S. J., who became pastor of Old St. Joseph's in 1773. The date assigned by O'Callaghan and Shea is between 1770-1774.[2] Only three copies of this precious incunable have thus far been located, two at Georgetown and the other at the Newberry Library, Chicago.

The *Garden,* as John Gilmary Shea claims,[3] can very properly be called the first Catholic prayer book printed in this country, but in 1774 there also appeared what may very well be a purely American composition, not reprinted from abroad. This was *The Manual of Prayers,* "Printed for the Subscribers, by Robert Bell, Bookseller, in Third-street." It is a book of 272 pages. This also I believe to be Father Molyneux's work. Only three copies of the *Manual* are known, two at Georgetown, and the third in a private family here in Philadelphia. The rest suffered the fate of all books in constant use.

These two books have what may be called anonymous publishers, and the reason may be easily surmised. The Penal Laws were still in force, however complacent the Philadelphia authorities had always been to ignore them. But in 1784, appears the imprint of the man who has the honor of being our first known Catholic publisher. Christopher Talbot, "late of Dublin", comes out under the new freedom of the young Confederation as the publisher of *New History of the Old and New Testament,* by Joseph Reeve, S. J., more popularly known as "Reeve's Bible History." Two

[1] Burton, Edwin H., *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner,* I, 130-1. Challoner was to remain the most-printed Catholic author of these early days. There were 25 editions of 15 of his works published in the United States before 1818.

[2] O'Callaghan, E. B., *A List of Editions of Holy Scripture* (Albany, 1861), 379.

[3] Finotti, J. M., *Bibliographia Catholica Americana,* 16.

years later, Talbot's name appears on the title page of *The Catholic Christian Instructed,* by Richard Challoner, "Printed by and for C. Talbot, in Front-street, Philadelphia." The only copy of this I have been able to locate is in the library of the American Catholic Historical Society here in Philadelphia. One other piece bears Talbot's imprint. It is Father Molyneux's sermon on the death of Father Ferdinand Farmer, his colleague at Old St. Joseph's for so many years. It is a ten-page pamphlet, and is marked simply: "Printed by C. Talbot in Front-street, 1786." Father Finotti had seventy-five copies of it reprinted in facsimile in Boston.

John Gilmary Shea and Finotti himself confessed to no other knowledge of "C. Talbot, late of Dublin" than what was to be gleaned from his title pages. But this was a challenge to Martin I. J. Griffin, and in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society,[4] he traced part of his history. Talbot was a printer and bookseller in Dublin in 1782, and had already had his imprint on other books, along with others, and on one, with his name alone, in 1779. In 1797, Father Molyneux refers in a letter to his heirs, so he must have died before that time. Father Molyneux, however, may well have been the editor of these books. He was indefatigable in getting Father John Carroll, P.A., and Father DuBourg, at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, to take copies on assignment; and in one letter, written apparently in 1786, he says to Carroll:

> Mr. Talbott has just put me in mind of his money. Indeed I'm hardly able to advance so much. . . . There is a dull sale here and if they do not sell with you, he will be a great sufferer. . . . But indeed I am tired of the printing business; because after advancing my money, I am either a long time in recovering or rather often lose a considerable part.[5]

Father Molyneux does not seem to have been so canny a business man in backing printing ventures as his great contemporary Benjamin Franklin. His experience appears to have gone back

[4] *Records* ACHS, XV, 121-24.

[5] Molyneux to Carroll (1786?), Balt. Archd. Archives, in *American Catholic Historical Researches* (ACHR), 29: 3 (July, 1912), 268.

some time before Talbot's. In one letter to Carroll he speaks about a "Spelling Primer with a Cath. Catechism annexed"; it was "the short abridgment, wch. I had printed some years ago by Bell."[6] Could it not be that he was the promoter of Bell's *Manual of Prayers* also, and maybe of the Crukshank *Garden of the Soul*? There could hardly have been any other. The "Spelling Primer with a Cath. Catechism annexed" has unfortunately eluded all attempts to locate a copy. It had probably the same text as is commonly known as Carroll's First Catechism, printed by Duffy in Baltimore in 1793, and also called "A Short Abridgment", and it may be Butler's edition of the Douay catechism.

I cannot refrain from mentioning here in passing a remarkable early printing enterprise from a non-Catholic printer. I mean John Aitken's *Compilation of the Litanies and Vesper Hymns and Anthems,* as sung in the Catholic Church, and printed in 1788. It was the first hymn book with music we had. Msgr. Hugh T. Henry devoted a careful study to it in the *Records.*[7] The editor of it has not been discovered.

One very interesting publisher closes this chapter of beginnings. T. Lloyd appears as the publisher of a beautifully printed little book, now exceedingly rare, *The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church.* No author is mentioned, but it was, of course, Bishop Challoner. Thomas Lloyd, sometimes incorrectly called the "Father of American Shorthand", was an Englishman who had studied at St. Omer's, where he knew Leonard Neale, later Archbishop of Baltimore, who persuaded him in 1771 to come to Maryland. After the war, he became the stenographer of Congress, and in 1787, founded the *Congressional Register.* He remained for many years Congressional reporter in Philadelphia and Washington and died January 19, 1827, at Eighth and Race Streets, Philadelphia. His single independent publication of the *Unerring Authority* seems to have been a labor of love for him, for his wife was converted to the Faith by reading it.[8]

[6] Molyneux to Carroll, December 27, 1785, *ibid.*, 277.

[7] *Records* ACHS, XXVI, 208-223.

[8] Griffin, M. I. J., "Thomas Lloyd," in ACHR, 7:1 (Jan., 1890), 17-32; 16:4 (Oct., 1899), 181-4.

## 2. Mathew Carey

There now appears on the scene one of the great Catholics of his day; indeed, one of the great men of his time. Mathew Carey was so great as a publisher as to overshadow most of his contemporaries in sheer volume of printing, and very few, if any, Catholics in our whole history have surpassed him in the output of his writings. In Dublin he was an apprentice printer at fifteen (he was born January 28, 1760); he became a United Irishman and got into trouble with the authorities for his *Appeal to the Catholics in Ireland,* and fled to France. There he worked in Benjamin Franklin's private press at Passy and under Firmin Didot, the younger. It was there also he met Lafayette, and when Carey went to the United States, the great marquis sent him $400, a sum which Carey looked upon as a debt and insisted on paying back in 1824, much to Lafayette's distress.[9]

Carey arrived in Philadelphia on November 1, 1784. Soon, with the help of Lafayette's money, he set himself up as a printer, and in January of the next year was editor and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Herald.* This got him into a duel, and being badly wounded he was laid up for over a year. In January, 1787, he began the *American Museum,* a magazine of "ancient and modern fugitive pieces," to which he contributed a large share in poetry, satires, essays on political economy, history and every imaginable subject. The project came to an end in 1792, after twelve good-sized volumes had appeared, an event which caused George Washington to write him urging him to continue.[10]

The first Catholic item I can find as coming from his press is a precious little twelve-page coverless pamphlet, *The True Principles of a Catholic, by Bishop Chalenor* (*sic*). It bears the date, "1789."[11] On its last page is an advertisement of another work "just published": *The Devout Christian's Vade Mecum.* I have not been able to locate a copy of this; nor was Finotti in his day.

[9] Bradsher, Earl L., *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author and Publisher* (Philadelphia, 1912), 3.

[10] Copy in Georgetown University Archives, 386: 7.

[11] Burton, *op. cit.*, II, 272, note, repudiates the Challoner authorship of this pamphlet, without giving any reason.

Thus was Carey launched on his career as a Catholic publisher. But his courageous soul was already meditating something really big, nothing less than the first Catholic Bible published in these States. On January 26, 1789, he had issued his Proposals. His pioneering notion was that it was to be the first quarto Bible in the United States; it was to follow the Douay version, as revised by Bishop Challoner according to the Clementine version of the Vulgate. Subscribers were to pay $6, if they reached the number of 400; the general public, $7. In securing subscribers, Bishop Carroll did yeoman service, as he had for Talbot before. He took twenty copies himself, and rounded up his acquaintances and friends for many more. Thus 472 subscribers are listed. The original idea was to issue the Bible weekly in forty-eight parts. The first installment came out on December 12, 1789, but Carey formed a new company—Carey, Stewart, & Co.—in 1790, and the weekly system was abandoned. How many weekly issues came out is not known; the whole Bible, in two volumes, usually bound together in one, was ready in November, 1790, and came to 985 pages. Carey on its completion characteristically issued two Addresses, one to Catholics, the other to Protestants, asking their patronage also.[12]

It was a magnificent undertaking, made from new type especially cast for the work; but the paper has not stood the test of time. The text was that of Challoner's second version of 1763-4. Unfortunately, just at this same time, Archbishop Troy of Dublin was putting through the press his own revision of Challoner, made by Rev. Bernard McMahon. This revision definitely superseded in the English-speaking world the Challoner version, which was still archaic in language. Carey did not feel able to reproduce this until 1805, when he published our second Bible, also in quarto, using Troy's text. He also published the New Testament from this edition separately.[13] Most of our present editions of the falsely so-called Douay Bible stem from this edition. Carey did not find Catholic Bibles profitable and he made only these two editions, while he published in all forty-nine Protestant Scriptures.[14]

[12] O'Callaghan, *List*, 34. The Proposals and the two Addresses are reprinted in ACHR, 3: 4 (April, 1887), 64-8.

[13] O'Callaghan, *List*, 72.

[14] Shea, John Gilmary, *A Bibliographical Account of Catholic Bibles* (1859), 3.

This experience seems to have stirred Carey up, however, for on November 7, 1791, he sent to each of the Fathers of the First Clergy Synod then meeting in Baltimore his proposals for support of a book club with the pretentious name of " The Society for Promoting the Printing and Disseminating of Books of Instruction and Devotion for the Use of the Catholics in the United States." [15] The appeal to the Synod listed seven reasons for monetary support, which have a strangely modern ring. After giving four ordinary reasons why books are necessary to preserve the Faith among scattered Catholics he says: " 5. Such is the languor of the Roman Catholics with respect to religious books that no printer will for a long period venture to print them at his own risk." Subscription is a " tedious, paltry and contemptible " system, and makes the public weary. What he asks, therefore, is a revolving fund of $1,000, or if not that then $800, or at least $600, or even $400. When the society got its money back from one book, another would be started, and so on, and profits would swell the original fund, so that books could come out at quicker intervals. To stimulate the idea Carey actually did publish one book under the auspices of his Society. This was Challoner's *Think Well On't,* a book of 143 pages, first published in 1791. Its advance pages contain an advertisement for the Society. Carey stopped there, however. After dragging on for a year, the project was dropped and the money collected for it, mostly by John Carroll, returned.[16] In 1826 he revived the idea, under the presidency of Father William D. Harold, for the free distribution of Catholic works. The one achievement of this Society was a pamphlet by Carey himself, *Letters on Religious Persecution* (1826) to be distributed gratis. This Society was apparently formed *ad hoc* and died there.[17]

Catholics remained in their " languor ", for Carey's publications in their field came far between. He published the *Garden of the Soul* in 1792; Huby's *Spiritual Retreat* in 1795; and I have found no Catholic book with his imprint until 1800, when he printed two works by Bishop Hay, *An Abridgment of the Christian*

[15] These Proposals were printed in ACHR, 16: 3 (July, 1899), 134-6.

[16] Carroll to Carey, January 13, 1792, in *Records* ACHS, IX, 370-1.

[17] Griffin, Martin I. J., in ACHR, 4: 1 (July, 1887), 159-65.

*Doctrine* and *The Pious Christian Instructed,* and *The Imitation of Christ,* our first by a Catholic publisher, and another work of Kempis, *The Soliloquy of the Soul.* After 1800, hardly any Catholic imprints appear from Carey's press, except some reprints of older books, and of his 1805 Bible. His Protestant Bible appeared in great profusion. His own pen, however, continued to be prolific, and books and pamphlets poured from it. His principal larger works are *The Olive Branch* (1814), *Vindiciae Hibernicae* (1819) and his collected papers *Miscellaneous Essays* (1830). Nobody has ever, though, succeeded in listing all his works.[18] He prospered exceedingly as a secular publisher and it is a pleasant thought for those who spent part of their youth in Fairmount Park that his home was that very Strawberry Mansion where so many of our happy hours were passed. He continued to write until his death, which took place on September 16, 1839. Though he was out of the Church for a time,[19] he was attended on his deathbed by the Very Rev. Dr. Moriarty, O. S. A., his close friend, and he is buried in St. Mary's churchyard.[20] He was a great figure in the nation's life for 55 years.[21]

### 3. Bernard Dornin

While Carey's Catholic presses were slowing down from discouragement, the center of Catholic publishing passed temporarily away from Philadelphia to New York and then to Baltimore.[22]

[18] Finotti, *op. cit.*, 270, records that between 1819 and 1833 he published "no less than fifty-nine separate pamphlets on the subject of the protective tariff alone," and adds, "It is well-nigh impossible to give a list of all Carey has published." Cf. Bradsher, *op. cit.*, 42-3; Eugene Maier, "Mathew Carey, Publicist and Politician", *Records,* ACHS, XXIX, 74-154.

[19] Bishop Bruté to Mathew Carey, March 17, 1807, in which the Bishop urges Carey to return to his "former faith." *Records,* ACHS, XII, 101-2. His defection seems to have been carelessness in his religious duties, not apostasy, and to have been temporary.

[20] Finotti, *op. cit.*, 269.

[21] It was Carey who brought out Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, and many other less famous American writers. "No other publishing firm, even in proportion to its size, published so many works of native production between 1787 and 1824." (Bradsher, *op. cit.*, 54.)

[22] Another Philadelphia bookseller and printer was Augustine Fagan. Four known publications between 1812 and 1817 bear his imprint. He was a

An enterprising young Irishman named Bernard Dornin appears as a bookseller at 150 Pearl Street in New York City in 1804, with a later branch store at Poughkeepsie for a time. His stock in trade at first was what he could buy from Carey in Philadelphia, though we find him soon importing books from London and Dublin. His correspondence with Carey shows a naïve and optimistic nature, a shocking ignorance of the rules of grammar and spelling, a deep gratitude to Carey, and a good sense of humor. (On one occasion he begs pardon for the blotting: "in my hurry I shook the inkstand on the paper in place of the sand box.") By 1808, he was firmly established and wrote to Carey: "My dear Mr. Carey on my commencing business you rendered me acts of friendship which essentially served me & the Man that forgets those things do not deserve to live in the recollection of his benifactor ".[23]

By 1807 he was himself launched as a printer, having published MacNeven's *Pieces of Irish History* in that year, as also Sig. Pastorini's famous *General History of the Christian Church.* "Sig. Pastorini", of course, was Bishop Charles Walmesley, and the *History* was really an exposition of the Apocalypse. It became very popular. In 1808, five books are listed with Dornin's imprint, all works of piety.[24] But the following year, for some unknown reason, probably because he sensed greater business possibilities, he has moved to Baltimore, and from 1809 to 1815 many books came out there with his imprint. About this time, however, Fielding Lucas started his prolific press, and incidentally many headaches for bibliographers, for all the early Lucas imprints bear no date. Probably, therefore, because of the new competition and because Carey was publishing nothing Catholic in Philadelphia, Dornin moved to this city, and up to 1826, we find many books with his new Philadelphia imprint on them. It is interesting to

Hoganite of note, and dropped dead in October, 1823. (Finotti, *op. cit.*, 266-7.) Cf. also biographical note by T. C. M. (Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A.), *Records*, ACHS, XX, 45-6.

[23] Dornin to Carey, April 26, 1808, in *Records*, ACHS, X, 105.

[24] Bossuet's *Exposition of Doctrine*, Fletcher's *Reflections, The Following of Christ*, Neale's *Practical Reflections*, and the *Pious Guide* (first published, Georgetown, 1792).

note that like Carey he took part in the war of pamphlets that accompanied the Hogan schism, but unlike Carey, who for a time sided with Hogan, his name appears only on pamphlets on Bishop Conwell's side. Finotti rightly calls him our "first *exclusively* Catholic publisher." After 1822, I find his name on only one publication: Mathew Carey's *Roland for an Oliver,* in 1826. Finotti tells us that he retired from business and went to Ohio to live near his daughters and died there in 1836.[25]

### 4. Eugene Cummiskey

Just as Dornin's star arose with the decline of Carey's interest in the Catholic field, so it sank with the rise of another Philadelphia publisher, who was destined to outshine both of them in the extent and importance of his Catholic enterprises. In 1821, appears the first book we can trace to Eugene Cummiskey: Bishop Milner's *Brief Summary of the Holy Scriptures.* We do not come across him again until 1824, when he published Bishop Hay's *Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine.* That same year, however, saw him branch out on a scale unknown to his predecessors.

Eugene Cummiskey, like his two great forerunners, was an Irishman, having been born in Ireland about 1792. He came to Philadelphia in 1810, and learned the printing and publishing business there. He became the principal Catholic publisher in this country and remained so until after 1840. He married Achsha Middleton Cooke at Old St. Joseph's in 1833, the Rev. Dr. Hurley, O.S.A., being the officiating clergyman, and he had four children. The Philadelphia Directory lists the house as still publishing in 1867. He died at his home, The Warren, in Chester County, Pa., on June 9, 1860.[26] *The Catholic Herald and Visitor,* which he had published since its foundation in 1833 by Father (later Archbishop) John Hughes, carried a short editorial on him on June 23, 1860, but the promised lengthy obituary of him seems never to have appeared.

[25] Finotti, *op. cit.,* 8-10, gives some biographical data on Dornin.

[26] I am indebted for biographical details on Cummiskey to Rev. Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., of Villanova College, and to Mr. Frank E. Barrett of Philadelphia.

His greatest publishing glory is the long list of Bibles which he put out. In 1824, he first appears with his octavo edition of Bishop Troy's fifth Dublin edition. The first printing of this Bible came out without Bishop Conwell's approbation; and a second printing was necessary with an Imprimatur.[27] This octavo Bible was reprinted twelve times up to 1852. In the latter year the firm sold the plates to Patrick Donahue in Boston, who thereafter got it out under his own imprint. Cummiskey's next venture was the greatest edition of the Bible this country has ever seen, a reprint of Haydock's Manchester folio, with twenty fine engravings. Unfortunately for him, but a great stroke of luck for collectors, this great folio was a commercial failure, and very few copies are extant. It was never reprinted and was apparently broken up and the paper used for waste. It is a majestic volume, 28 inches high, in large type, the only Catholic folio Bible we have ever had in this country.

That very same year (1825), Cummiskey tempted the bookseller's fates by another venture, almost as grandiose, a quarto Bible, reproducing, as did his octavo, the text of Dr. Troy's fifth Dublin edition. It was more of a success than the folio, for it was reprinted the following year. He sold the plates of this quarto Bible to Fielding Lucas of Baltimore, who reprinted it in 1832. This ended his publications of the whole Bible, but he was not yet through. In 1829, he printed a tiny 32mo New Testament, in type so small it can hardly be read. This, too, he sold to Lucas, who reprinted it in 1831 (?). Finally in 1840, he produced a more readable Testament, in 12mo., using the text of Bishop Murray's 1825 Dublin edition, which was a further revision of Troy's revision of Challoner's revision of the original Rheims New Testament. The plates of this Testament also, like all the others made by Cummiskey, except the folio, were apparently used almost up to our own times.

But Bibles were not his only stock in trade. In 1827, he produced something almost as daring as his Bibles: Lingard's *History of England,* in fourteen large volumes. He seems to have lost

[27] For bibliographical details on this and Cummiskey's other Bibles, see O'Callaghan, *A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures,* 165 ff.

heart over this venture, however, for the last two volumes bear the imprint of Fielding Lucas, to whom he apparently made over the edition. Many other smaller separate Catholic books came from his presses. In 1830, or thereabouts, he started two series of books, large and small, *The Catholic Family Library* and *Catholic Tracts*, respectively, and as far as I have been able to ascertain, about a dozen of each of these books appeared. It is clear, then, why I claim that he was our greatest Catholic publisher in those early days.

One last word on the nature of all these books. With very few exceptions, they were reprints from books written or published in England or Ireland, or translations from the French or Italian. The exceptions are productions by Americans written on various occasions, mostly controversial fugitive pieces, and of very little lasting value. The age of the Kenricks and the Spaldings was just around the corner.

WILFRID PARSONS.

# THE BEGINNINGS OF UNIVERSITY LIFE IN AMERICA*

Today there are hundreds, nay thousands, of colleges and universities dotting the land from Canada to Central America and from Central America to Argentina and Chile. Within the present limits of the United States the development and growth of higher institutions of learning has been so widespread that it is only natural for Americans to believe that University life in North America had its origin here. This belief has been further strengthened by the deep-rooted and prevalent opinion that Spanish colonization in America had for its sole purpose the exploitation of the native populations and the mineral resources of the new continent. Spain, the Inquisition, Philip II and the Roman Catholic Church have been inseparably associated in the mind of the English-speaking world, and it has been concluded that a race which committed the atrocities so vividly portrayed by the earnest but impulsive Bartolomé de las Casas could have had little interest in education, and less still in colleges and universities. Historians, until very recently, have considered the thirteen colonies on the Atlantic seaboard as the nucleus of civilization in America, and they have pointed to the slow material progress of Spanish America as proof incontestable of the deplorable heritage of Spain's misgovernment.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Dr. Joshua L. Chamberlain, ex-president of Bowdoin College, a few years ago, thus speaks of the early universities of South America:

> They followed mostly the pattern of those of Spain. Whatever reproaches may be laid against the Jesuits, it cannot be denied that in their early widespread missions they did good service in the cause of education. It was by their efforts . . . that schools of learning in South America followed so closely the Spanish conquest. Through these efforts arose the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, which

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> received the royal confirmation of Charles V in 1551. Next in 1553, appears that of San Paulo near Bahia, Brazil, which, as a source of knowledge and of civilization, was a power beyond any other in the history of the country. Nearly at the same time arose the University of Santiago de Chile under the protection of Valdivia, the successful general of Pizarro, and in Mexico a university was founded by the Jesuits, largely an ecclesiastical institution after the model of Salamanca and the Sorbonne.

With this passing mention he discards the history of higher education in Spanish America, his reference to Mexico leading the casual reader to imply that of all those mentioned it was the last and least important.

Judging from this statement, it would seem that it was due entirely to the efforts of the Jesuits, who in all justice it must be said did splendid work in the field of education, that any thought was given to the subject in the Spanish colonies. But if we take Mexico for instance, we find that the Jesuits did not arrive until 1572. By that time the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico had been in operation almost twenty years, having been officially opened in 1553. There were, besides the university, at least five colleges or general houses of study, not including seminaries, and numerous private teachers who were engaged in educating the youth of the land. Obviously, it cannot be said, in view of these circumstances, that it was due entirely to the efforts of the Jesuits that interest in education developed in Mexico. Brief as the statement of Dr. Chamberlain is, it reveals sufficiently the misconceptions generally held in the United States concerning the history of education in Hispanic America even by those who are well informed. With regard to the establishment of the University of Lima, Peru, it should be noted that two decrees were issued by Charles V in 1551, providing for the establishment of a center of general studies or universities in Mexico and Lima respectively. These royal *cedulas* were not a confirmation of an accomplished fact but orders for the creation of the first two universities in the two Americas. There is no ground for maintaining that the University of Lima, Peru, was the first. The facts are that the royal decree for its erection was issued at the same time as that of Mexico

and that the order was actually fulfilled in Mexico first, where the University was officially opened in 1553, before that of Lima.[1]

Let us take a glance at the relative progress of education in Mexico and the thirteen English colonies at the beginning of the American Revolution. By 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence, the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico had been in continuous operation for two hundred and twenty-three years. During that time it had granted 1,162 doctors' and masters' degrees in all four faculties: Theology, Arts, Canon Law and Civil Law; and it had granted 29,882 bachelors degrees, besides numerous licentiates not recorded. At that time there were in Mexico, in addition to the university, fourteen different colleges or general houses of study of similar rank, many of whose students took graduate courses in the university. Now if we turn to the thirteen American colonies we find that there were nine colleges, not one of which could rightly be called a university. Not until 1779, as a result of the efforts of Thomas Jefferson, was the College of William and Mary, which had been originally granted a charter in 1692 but which did not actually open until 1693, reorganized as a university. The colleges founded within the present United States were: Harvard, in 1636; William and Mary, in 1693; Yale, in 1701; the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, in 1749; King's College, now Columbia University, in 1754; Brown, in 1764; Dartmouth, in 1769; Queen's Rutgers, in 1766; and Hampden-Sidney, in 1776.

In sharp contrast we find seven colleges had been established in Mexico City alone before the end of the sixteenth century: Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco (1536); San Juan de Letrán (1548); Santa Maria de Todos Santos (1573); San Pedro y San Pablo (1573); San Ildefonso (1573); San Gregorio (1575); and San Bernardo y San Miguel (1576). These were not seminaries or theological schools but colleges in the medieval sense of the word; that is, centers of general studies. In addition to these colleges the various religious Orders in Mexico maintained special houses of study for those who were destined for the priesthood. This clearly

[1] The full text of the royal decrees is found in the extremely rare *Cedulario de Encina*, printed in Madrid in 1596.

indicates an interest in education not suspected by many American scholars and almost totally ignored up to the present.

To understand better this general interest in higher education in New Spain, it is necessary to glance briefly at the early years of the conquest and at the organization of society in the new colony won to Spain by the heroic efforts of Cortés and his fearless companions.

Remarkable men, indeed, were the conquistadores, men of boundless and varied ambitions as well as of stern and limitless courage. Heretofore, we have been wont to think of them as cruel, heartless, bloody, unprincipled men, whose sole ambition was gold and glory at any cost, who slew the natives wantonly, who enslaved them, who delighted in their slow and painful death. But when we examine the impressive and voluminous records which they left to posterity, when we look into their everyday life, it is surprising to find them so human and withal so noble in their aspirations, so Christian in their piety.

When we examine the records impartially, we find a far different picture from that to which we have been accustomed. The Spaniards were not angels, but they were not fiends incarnate either. They were, like all of us, human. But let us turn to the sixteenth century and see them as they were. Garcia Icazbalceta writes:

> It was then that the great political and social revolution that changed the face of the new land took place, and that the foundations of the society in which we live today were laid down. To be present at the birth of that culture, to see how the spirit of a new people was formed, how the line of cleavage which separated the two foreign and practically rival races began to disappear through association in the schools, how the Church and the State coöperated to bring about the enlightenment of the people, and how the cultivation of the arts soon flourished are subjects that cannot be lacking in interest.

A mere handful of Spaniards had succeeded in conquering within two years, by their resourcefulness, their daring and their cunning, a native population variously estimated between four and six millions of people. The most powerful influence in the conquest of this vast empire had been the prevalent dissatisfaction felt by the subjects of the Aztec emperor and the natural objec-

tion to human sacrifices. Here, then, was a large population used to agricultural labor, with a native nobility made up of powerful chiefs through whom the masses could be controlled. The land was productive and rich in minerals. The new lords immediately set about to establish a feudal society based on land tenure. To make stable the new organization the native nobility had to be won over to the new order and made part of it. The religious spirit of the conquerors was as strong and as sincere as that of the missionaries. It was realized from the very beginning that the leaders of the conquered race had to be converted to the new religion and made acquainted with European civilization in order that through them the masses might be eventually civilized also. Thus the first efforts at education were directed to this end.

On December 15, 1524, four years after the conquest, Rodrigo de Albornoz, one of the king's high officers in New Spain, addressed Charles V in these words:

> In order that the sons of the *caciques* [Indian chiefs or lords] and the lords of the land, Most Powerful Master, be instructed in the faith, it is necessary that Your Majesty order that a college be established where they may be taught to read and where they may receive instruction in grammar [Latin] and philosophy and other arts that may fit them to become missionaries. It will be of far greater value and more fruit will be gathered in bringing this people to the faith by one of these who come from among them than from fifty come from Spain. For its maintenance and buildings any one of the small places on the lake will be sufficient, if the College is placed under one who is not self-seeking.

The same opinion we find repeated shortly afterwards by the anonymous informer of the king who in his secret "Notes to His Majesty" says:

> It is highly advisable that a center of general studies be established in Tenuxtitlan [Mexico City] where instruction in grammar, arts, and theology may be imparted to the natives of the land. All the sons of the principal lords of the country should attend.

The *Ayuntamiento* of the city had frequently petitioned the viceroy to secure teachers for the instruction both of the natives and Spaniards. In 1533, while Bishop Zumárraga was in Spain,

he presented a memorial to the Council of the Indies in which he declared:

> It is necessary that there be [sent] some teachers of grammar both for the Spaniards and for the natives. May Your Majesty provide accordingly, making some concessions for that purpose.

To this interesting suggestion, the Council noted on the margin of the document still preserved in the archives of Seville: "Being so, let them [the teachers] be provided with as much as eight *reales* a day until they embark."

But it was not only the royal officers, the *Ayuntamiento,* and the bishop who urged the need of establishing schools and of providing a center of general study or university in Mexico. Viceroy Mendoza himself wrote the king about this time:

> Let a university be established where the natives and the sons of the Spaniards may receive instruction in the things of our holy Catholic faith and in the other faculties. Realizing the importance of this measure, I have already appointed persons to all the faculties that they might read their courses, in the hope that a university will be founded with all the faculties. I have given for that purpose some stock ranches [*estancias*] of my own with certain cattle.

This was about the year 1539, but unfortunately we have no details about the teachers of this pioneer attempt to establish an institution of higher learning, what were the courses offered, or where this forerunner of the University was located. It is particularly worthy of notice that by this time (eighteen years after the conquest) whatever animosity may have existed between the natives and the Spaniards had completely disappeared, for it is clearly stated by the viceroy that the university is to be for the two races indistinctly.

But more significant still is the fact that before this temporary center of general education was established by the viceroy, the first real college to be established in North America was founded expressly for Indians. This was the College of Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco, formally opened on January 6, 1536, for the purpose of teaching Indian boys religion, good manners, reading, writing, Latin grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, music and medicine. Let

it not be thought that the teachers of this first institution of higher learning in North America were obscure or ignorant men. Among the first teachers were men like Fray Arnaldo de Basacio, a French scholar of distinction; Fray Garcia de Cisneros, one of the first twelve Franciscans and the first provincial of his Order in Mexico; Fray Andrés Olmos, a distinguished linguist and famous missionary, companion of the saintly Bishop Zumárraga; Fray Juan Caona, a distinguished graduate of the University of Paris, as humble as he was learned; Fray Francisco de Bustamante, one of the great orators of his day; Fray Juan Focher, a French doctor of laws of the University of Paris; and Fray Bernardino Sahagun, the famous historian.

This college was under the direction of the Franciscans and so well did it do its work that within fifteen years after its establishment its graduates were actually teaching Spanish novices in the Franciscan monastery of Mexico City. Here we have an almost paradoxical case where the conquered race furnished teachers to the conquerors before half of the conquistadores were dead. From this college came noted teachers of the native languages, useful secretaries who greatly helped the over-burdened missionaries, enlightened magistrates for the native villages, and skilled musicians and artisans. Type-setters from this school excelled Spanish artisans. So well did the Indians profit by the instruction received at this college that some of the Spaniards became apprehensive of the advisability of imparting such training and education to the natives. Jerónimo López, one of the advisers of the viceroy, wrote that the religious

> not content with teaching the Indians to read and write, to set up type, to play the flute, the cornet, and the organ and to be musicians, have decided to teach them Latin grammar. The Indians apply themselves so diligently that there are boys, and their number increases each day, who speak Latin as elegantly as Tullius [Cicero]. . . . It is amazing to see what they write in Latin, such as letters and dialogues.

The reaction to the education of the Indians in the arts was similar to that experienced by some of the leaders in the South in regard to the education of the negro.

There was another class which engaged the attention of those interested in raising the general level of society in New Spain. Due to the small number of Spanish women who came in the first years of the conquest, the Spaniards soon began to marry freely into the native population and from these relations there arose a new social class—the mestizo—which for a time was considered inferior to the pure-blooded Indian. By 1540, this new class had become so numerous that it constituted a serious problem. Being considered inferior to the pure-blooded Spaniard and the pure-blooded Indian, it suffered greatly from neglect, until Bishop Zumárraga began to take measures to assist and to educate it. In reply to various representations, made to the king by the *Ayuntamiento* and royal officials, he ordered on various occasions that the mestizo children be gathered in a school where they could be cared for and given proper instruction. The result of the king's repeated orders and the growing interest in this class which spread to the various religious Orders, particularly the Franciscans, was the establishment of a school at first, which in 1548, became the College of San Juan de Letrán, where similar instruction to that given the Indian boys at Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco was given the mestizos. The king granted the college a charter and provided moderate funds for its support. This college was placed under the direction of three religious, one of whom served as rector each year. Such students as showed special ability were allowed later to attend the university to take such courses as were not offered in the college. Those who showed no ability in the sciences and letters were taught a trade.

Thus we see official colleges established (before 1550) for both the Indians and the mestizos where they could complete their higher education and pursue the study of the various arts and sciences. The failure to provide similar institutions for the Spaniards may arouse some surprise. Was this due to a lack of interest on the part of the conquistadores and early settlers who may have been indifferent to the problem? Not exactly. In 1539, we find the Dominicans declaring in a letter to the king the importance of establishing a center of general studies or a university for the Spaniards and Creoles, and stating that " the

desire to learn [on the part of the Spaniards and Creoles] is so great, and so numerous are the young men who go to Spain to complete their studies that the land is rapidly becoming depopulated." Allowing for some exaggeration, the fact remains that by that time the Spanish and Creole youths were going in numbers to study in Spain for lack of facilities in New Spain.

From the beginning of the conquest there were private teachers who gave the children of the conquistadores and of the new settlers the rudiments of education and prepared them for higher study. We know that in 1536, a certain González Dávila de Valverde, who had a bachelor's degree, was licensed by the king to teach grammar in Mexico; there are references in the minutes of the Cabildo of Mexico City to private teachers employed in the city; a certain Diego Díaz, another bachelor of arts, taught grammar in 1550; and the distinguished writer, Cervantes de Salazar, later to become the first holder of the chair of rhetoric at the university, is also known to have made a living during his first years in Mexico by giving private lessons.

But all the Spaniards and Creoles in Mexico were not able to send their children to Spain to complete their education. It was for this reason that we have seen how repeated requests were made by the *Ayuntamiento,* the viceroy and Bishop Zumárraga for a center of general study in Mexico. It was because of the urgent demand of the Spaniards and Creoles for such an institution that the viceroy established what was equivalent to a temporary university as early as 1540. It was perhaps to this incident that Herrera refers when he says that Las Casas petitioned the king in 1539, and was successful in securing an order from the king for the establishment of a university in Mexico. Again and again the *Ayuntamiento* had requested the establishment from the viceroy of "a university of all the sciences where the natives and the sons of the Spaniards might receive instruction in the things pertaining to our holy faith and in all the other faculties."

It was not until September 21, 1551, that Charles V at last decided to issue *cedulas* providing for the establishment of a university in Lima, Peru, and another in Mexico. The evidence available does not show that the Jesuits had any direct influence

on the decision of the emperor. This memorable document which may be called the charter of the two pioneer universities of the New World reads:

> In order to serve God and the public welfare of our kingdoms, it is convenient that our vassals and natural subjects have therein universities and centers of general studies where they may be instructed in all the sciences and faculties. We, therefore, because of our great love and our desire to favor and honor those who live in our Indies, and in order to banish the darkness of ignorance from there forever, hereby create, establish, and order to be founded in the city of Lima, of the Kingdom of Peru, and in the city of Mexico, of New Spain, a university or center of general studies in each respectively, and it is our will to grant to all those persons that may be graduated in the said universities the enjoyment of all the privileges and exemptions in our Indies, Islands, and Tierra Firme de Mar Oceano, now enjoyed by those who are graduated by the University of Salamanca.

Thus was ordered the establishment of the University of Mexico, founded by the expressed will of the King of Spain, who, according to some, thought only of maintaining his subjects beyond the seas in the most complete ignorance, and of deriving from them the greatest possible revenue.

One thousand pesos of gold annually were granted for its maintenance out of the royal treasury, in addition to the revenue derived from the stock ranches originally donated by Viceroy Mendoza for the purpose. Though the amount was far from being sufficient, it served to start the first university in North America.

Unfortunately, before the order so long awaited by Viceroy Mendoza, who had hoped to establish officially a center of general education arrived, he was transferred to Peru. It fell to his successor, Don Luis de Velasco, to carry out the command. We do not know just when the *cedula* arrived in Mexico, but it was not until January 25, 1553, on the feast of Saint Paul, that the official inauguration took place. The viceroy in gala dress, the entire Audiencia in full uniform, all the highest officials and magistrates of the realm, and the various religious Orders with their habits gathered on that day in the Church of San Pablo of the Augustinians. The colorful assembly devoutly heard a Mass sung to the Holy Spirit and then proceeded to elect a rector and a chancellor

in accordance with the royal order. The first rector was the Oidor Don Antonio Rodríguez de Quesada, and the chancellor elected was Oidor Gómez de Santillana. Saint Paul was declared the patron saint of the university.

The viceroy rented a house, belonging to Doña Catalina de Montejo, to serve as a university hall until a building was erected for the purpose. This house was located at the corner of Arzobispado and Seminario Streets. Here the classes were officially inaugurated on June 3, with a brilliant Latin oration by Cervantes de Salazar. To give all the pomp possible to the occasion, the viceroy, the Audiencia and the most prominent officials of Church and State attended the ceremony. All the classes were not inaugurated on the same day. It was decided to open each class on one of the succeeding days in order that all the officials could be present. Each professor inaugurated his course with an appropriate Latin oration.

Registration began on June 13, 1553, before Juan Pérez de la Fuente, royal notary public. The honor of being the first students to enroll in a university in America belongs to four brothers: Don Pedro, Don Lope, Don Diego, and Don Alonso de Castilla. These four young men were the first to present themselves. "They asked to be admitted to the study of arts [philosophy] and to be granted the privileges enjoyed by students of the university." After satisfying the requirements for entrance they took the oath to obey the rector in all things *licitis et honestis*.

It is worthy of notice that the first faculty was selected from men of letters residing in Mexico at the time. Not one was brought from Spain to fill a single chair. The first to hold the chair of rhetoric and the one to inaugurate the first class in the new university was Francisco Cervantes de Salazar. He was a native of Toledo, had studied in Spain under the leading teachers of his day, and had won renown as a distinguished Latinist before he came to Mexico in 1550. He was the author of a number of books and wrote an introduction to the works of the famous Spanish humanist, Luis Vives. Before coming to Mexico he had occupied a chair in the University of Osuna in Spain. That same year he took the examinations for the Master of Arts de-

gree and received it from the new university, later obtaining a doctor's degree in theology. In 1555, he was ordained to the priesthood and became a canon of the Cathedral. In 1563, and again in 1567, he held the office of rector of the university and in the latter years of his life he was made official chronicler of new Spain.

The first professor of scholastic theology was Fray Alonso de la Veracruz of whom Cervantes de Salazar said, " He is the most eminent master of arts and theology in the land . . . In him virtue competes with the most exquisite and admirable doctrine." He, also, had come from the province of Toledo. Before he came to Mexico he had studied in the famous University of Alcalá de Henares where he took a course in rhetoric, studying theology and arts at Salamanca, where he obtained his master's degree. He joined the Augustinian Order in 1536, after his arrival in Mexico, and was responsible for the establishment of a theological seminary in Michoacan as early as 1540. Upon his appointment to the faculty of the university he had three of his books reprinted to be used as textbooks.[2] Realizing the intricacies of scholasticism, he modestly declares in the introduction to his *Recognitio Summularum:*

> This is not an attempt to put in anything new, but to give to the old such an organization as to enable the young student to gather the desired fruit in a shorter time.

Few men of the sixteenth century either in Europe or in America can compare with this singular figure in learning, in virtue, or in courage. He was the author of many books. During his lifetime he was offered the most flattering posts by the Council of the Indies, but he refused them all. He was distinguished with the highest office of his Order, that of vicar-general, after serving three times as Provincial. His motto was quite modern: " Keep track of time ", and he lived up to it. Not a day of his busy life was wasted. He was an indefatigable worker and a man who had the courage to speak his convictions at a time when few men dared. When Fray Luis de León, the distinguished Spanish friar

[2] His *Physica speculatio, Dialectica resolutio cum textu Aristotelis,* and *Recognitio summularum,* are in the University of Texas Library.

and poet, was imprisoned by the Inquisition in Spain for his translation of the *Song of Songs,* Veracruz openly defended him and on one occasion declared: "Well in all truth, if they burn him they may burn me, because as he speaks, so do I believe."

The first professor of theology was the Prior of the Dominican Convent of Mexico, Fray Pedro de la Peña. He too had been trained in Salamanca and had come to Mexico in 1550. Soon after his arrival he mastered the Mexican language and became Prior of Caxaca. He was a learned man, distinguished by his missionary zeal, his wide interest in education, and his great humility. In 1559, the viceroy made him his private confessor, and in 1562, Peña went to Spain as Provincial of his Order, and later was appointed Bishop of Quito in Peru. Twenty-one years later he was made Bishop of Michoacan, but died before he could return to Mexico.

Another of the first teachers of theology was Juan Negrete, who received his master's degree from the University of Paris and who had the distinction of serving as the second rector of the new university. "His knowledge of philosophy and mathematics is surprising," declares Cervantes, "and he is not ignorant of medicine." In later years he became archdeacon of the Cathedral of Mexico.

The chair of papal decrees was given first to Dr. Bartolomé Melgarejo, who held it only for one year and was then succeeded by Dr. Mateo Arevalo y Sedeña. For twenty years this able teacher held his post and faithfully fulfilled his duties. In recognition of his services the university pensioned him. He has the distinction of being the first university professor in America to be pensioned at the termination of his period of service. It has been said of him that he was a man of unusual ability in dialectics, who could defend sophisms or tear them to pieces. He was well versed in the most obscure phases of papal decrees and was the only teacher of canon law who could quote his own opinion to his class.

The first professor of canon law was Dr. Morones of whom Cervantes de Salazar says: "Jurisprudence owes him much. His students enjoy his lectures because of their clearness."

The first to teach grammar was Fray Blas de Bustamante, who had been teaching this subject in Mexico prior to his appointment for twenty years. After his appointment he petitioned the university to grant him the degree of master of arts, offering to take the required examinations and requesting that he be excused from the payment of the fees required for conferring the degree. The petition was granted and was the first of its kind. While teaching he continued his studies, carrying five courses in addition to his class, and after a few years he obtained his doctor's degree, which was conferred on him with due ceremony. One of the sons of Hernando Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, acted as his sponsor. In 1567, he became a lawyer of the Audiencia of Mexico. In describing him and his work, Cervantes de Salazar gives us some idea of the method he used in his classes:

> He whom you see walking through the great class room below, so full of students, is the teacher Bustamante, who from eight to nine in the morning, and from two to three in the afternoon, teaches grammar . . . with care and intelligence. He carefully explains the authors and discloses and points out with great discernment the beauties of the subject. He is not a little versed in dialectics and philosophy in which he has a master's degree. Since he has been teaching the youth of Mexico for twenty-six years, there is hardly a sacred orator or a teacher now living who has not been his student.

The first professor of arts (philosophy) was Juan Garcia, a canon of the cathedral. He was a man " worthy of praise for his depth and vast learning." He taught arts and philosophy for five years, from 1553 to 1558.

The main purpose of the institution was to train the young clergy and the youth of Mexico in the various faculties. The most important and the most popular courses were those leading to degrees in theology, in canon law, civil law, philosophy and medicine. The latter, together with mathematics, were not taught in the beginning, but were added later and gained in prominence with time. Latin was the basis for all professional studies and the student had to present a certificate to prove that he had sufficiently mastered the language before entering the University.

In order to enter the school of theology the applicant had first to obtain a degree in arts. In 1554, a regulation was adopted providing that candidates for a degree in theology had to take a course in *prima* of theology the first year, one in sacred scriptures during the third year, and one in papal decrees during the fourth year. In addition to this they also had to write a dissertation to show their knowledge in the general field of theology. For a degree in canon law two special courses on the subject were required during the first years of the institution, but this requirement was raised to six years later. The course in arts was in fact a course in philosophy. It included the study of dialectics, logic, metaphysics, cosmology, embracing mathematics and physics, physiology, psychology and ethics. A degree in arts was prerequisite to admission in the school of theology and of medicine.

The importance attached to the study of grammar may be gathered from the statement found in the Chronicle of the University:

> Grammar is the bed and root of all sciences and letters, and unless one is a good grammarian he cannot possess a good foundation, or be well grounded in Latin.

Now as to the original chairs: there were seven of these established in the beginning: Sacred Scripture, taught by Alonso de la Veracruz; Canon Law, taught by Dr. Morones; Papal Decrees, taught by Melgarejo; Arts, taught by Juan Garcia; Rhetoric, taught by Cervantes de Salazar; and Grammar, taught by Blas de Bustamante. These chairs were subsequently divided into sections. The method followed was to divide each one into *primas* and *visperas,* to which were added allied subjects or branches as the need arose. Theology was divided into three chairs: *Primas, Visperas* and *Scripturas.* The last of these was in turn divided into St. Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and Sacred Scriptures. Law was divided into *Primas* and *Visperas* of Canon Law, of Papal Decrees, and of Civil Law, Institutes and Clementine Decrees. Medicine, which was not made a regular part of the curriculum until 1580, had a chair of *Primas,* which was concerned chiefly with practice. Art was divided into *Primas* of Philosophy and Arts.

In Rhetoric there was only one chair of *Primas,* while there were *Primas* and *Visperas* in Grammar. This consisted chiefly of the study of Latin authors. Beginning with seven chairs, the classes were subdivided and new subjects were added until the faculty came to include twenty-four different chairs.

The chairs were of two kinds: the *catedra* and the *catedrilla,* the first was permanent while the second was a temporary appointment. The Audiencia officially declared on July 21, 1553, that the two chairs of theology, the two chairs of canons, and the *prima* of grammar were to be considered as *catedras,* appointment to which was for life during good behaviour. The rest of the chairs were to be vacated every four years, with the exception of arts, which was to be held for a period of three years at a time.

What was the method of instruction? In the main it was scholastic. The University of Mexico was fashioned after that of Salamanca, by whose statutes it was ruled until late in the seventeenth century. It represents the transplanting of the old mediaeval university to America. The scholastic system has long since fallen into disrepute, but Garcia Icazbalceta has ably pointed out that

> scholastic philosophy . . . has perhaps contributed more than any other human discipline to the development of the intelligence, and in its long reign through the centuries boasts of names no other school of thought can surpass in glory. . . . But the powerful dialectic of scholasticism was perverted by stupid disputes to sustain puerile and empty arguments which finally discredited it.

The procedure in the class room was first the presentation of the subject by the professor, who divided it into a series of theses, forming related groups which were taken up in due time for discussion. The propositions were presented, the terms were carefully defined, the premises laid, and the various solutions and points of attack were suggested. The class then joined in the discussion, which was led and directed by the professor. Finally came the criticism of the thesis and its classification as metaphysical, physical and moral. Disputations were common and heated. Bulletins were posted on the doors of the various halls announcing the secular or theological problems that would be discussed on a given date in order that all those interested might attend.

The controversies were presided over by one of the teachers, who sat at one end of the room on an elevated platform in his doctor's gown, mace in hand. It was his duty to direct the discussion and clear up obscure points. The arguments became so heated that the participants some times came to blows, the use of blunt arms in such scuffles not being unusual. The contestants had their *padrinos* or sponsors, who often took part in the discussion.

Grammar, apparently being a freshman course, corresponding to our English 1, its rules were more detailed. The students were required to prepare definite assignments on the conjugation of verbs, the declension of nouns, and the parsing of sentences. The professor was particularly enjoined to keep a close check on the work of the students, to be punctual in his attendance, and to follow closely the program of study outlined for him. Every Saturday he was to check up on the work of each student, supposedly by giving them a test or taking up some written exercise, much as we do today.

Of the text books used in the early years, Fray Alonso de la Veracruz used his own, *Recognitio Summularum, Dialectica Resolutio cum textu Aristotelis,* and *Physica Speculatio.* But he was not the only professor to print his own texts. Francisco Cervantes de Salazar used his *Dialogi* in the course on rhetoric. Selections from Ovid, Cicero, Cato, Virgil, Martial and other Latin classics were also used. In the course on philosophy a book by Fray Domingo Soto, *La Logica,* was used. The well known *Arte de Nebrija* by the famous Spanish humanist was the recognized text for the course in grammar. Selections from Aristotle and Plato were also used in the grammar course. The Bible, the records of Church laws, papal decrees, and the works of various religious authors must have been used in the different courses in theology and canon law. Many of the professors, following an old custom, wrote their own lectures which they read to the class and there are many manuscript works by the various professors still extant in the Mexican archives. In the Garcia Library there is a most interesting manuscript treatise on mathematics, geometry, archi-

tecture and physics written by one of the instructors of the university towards the close of the sixteenth century.

The grading system in vogue followed the practice of Salamanca. It consisted of "A" for approved, " C " for failure (*condenado*) and " L y N " for condition (*non liquet*). In later years the " C " was replaced by " R " meaning not approved (*reprobado*) and the use of " L y N " was discontinued. Thus a student either made an " A " or an " R ".

Every student had to register each year within forty days after the election of the new rector, which generally took place on June 12. In registering, the student had to declare the school he wished to enter and to swear to obey the rector in all things, lawful and honest. The registration fee was two *reales* (about ten cents). But this was only the initial fee. Freshman had to pay an additional *peso* for the examination in grammar which they had to take to prove their proficiency. An additional two *reales* had to be paid for each course for which the student registered. The actual cost of registering was nominal, the thing that was prohibitive was the fee for a degree.

Candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts had to pay four *pesos* to the university treasury, nine to the three members of the board of examiners, three to the rector on condition that he be present at the examination, two to the officer who conferred the degree, three to the one who presided at the ceremony, two to the two beadles, and four to the secretary for recording the proceedings and giving the candidate the degree, a total of twenty-seven *pesos*. This degree was the least expensive of all, since it was required for entrance to most of the other schools. The total fees paid by a candidate for the degree of bachelor of medicine was forty-four *pesos*. A candidate for the degree of doctor in philosophy, theology, or medicine had to pay about three hundred and fifty *pesos*. This sum was high, but not so high as many have affirmed, citing the fact as evidence that only the rich and powerful were able to attend the University. The expense of the ceremonies accompanying the granting of a doctor's degree was excessively high, but this was generally borne by the *padrino* or sponsor of the act. Efforts were made very early to cut down the

unnecessary expenses of such ceremonies and the constitution provided that in the case of all the degrees, with the exception of that of doctor, a student who was unable to pay the stipulated fees should make an application to the faculty to be excused from their payment and the faculty would grant it, if found meritorious. Consequently, what was beyond the means of the poor student was the ceremony attendant upon the granting of the degree.

The students who registered throughout the sixteenth century came from all classes, the sons of the merchants along with the sons of conquistadores and the poor Indians. As in our day, college life was full of social events and merry-makings. There were no athletics, to be sure, but there were bull fights to take the place of our football games, and there were masquerades, and jousts, and cavalcades to take the place of tennis and baseball and other lighter sports. The official festivals were so numerous that one wonders, even as today, when the students had time to study. There were, for example, the feast days of the various patron saints of the university and of the city, there were historical dates such as *La Noche Triste,* corresponding to Washington's winter at Valley Forge, and there were the *oposiciones,* public contests in which candidates for vacant professorships displayed in open debate their qualifications for the position and which correspond to the old-time political campaigns. On most of these occasions there were carnivals, dances, banquets, bull fights and public tournaments. All in all, life at the old university was as full and as restless as ours.

Let me briefly describe the ceremonies attendant upon the granting of a doctor's degree in the old days. The candidate first stood a severe private examination. If he was approved, a date was set for a public examination designed to give the successful candidate an opportunity to display his talents. In the meantime the candidate invited a prominent, wealthy, and if possible, noble, gentleman to be his *padrino* or sponsor in the ceremonies that were to follow. To be asked to sponsor such an act was considered a very high honor, but this often proved expensive. The sponsor had to bear all the expenses of the occasion. He sent out elaborate invitations, paid for the ring of the candidate, purchased his cap and

gown, paid all the fees, and gave a sumptuous banquet. The ring, cap, and gown were usually displayed on a velvet cushion for a few days on the balcony of the sponsor's house. On the day of the ceremony the insignia of the candidate were removed from the balcony and taken in an elegant coach to the university. This was the occasion for the initial procession. The sponsor, masters and doctors preceded the coach on gayly caparisoned horses, and the rest of the company followed it. The procession went to the archbishop's home. Here it was reformed, with the archbishop, accompanied by the candidate on his right and the sponsor on the left, leading. They were followed by the viceroy, who in turn was preceded by two heavy silver maces, then came the Oidores of the royal Audiencia in order of seniority, then the rector, the doctors, and the other members of the faculty and friends of the candidate. The investiture took place with great pomp and the sponsor had the privilege of placing the ring upon the finger of the candidate as a token of his wedlock to knowledge. If the degree was in medicine, the candidate received spurs instead of the ring. The cap and gown resembled those of the University of Salamanca.

But let us turn from the stately, prosperous and colorful University of Mexico to the beginnings of college life within the present limits of the United States. It was in the year 1636, on September 8, that the legislature of Massachusetts Bay Colony passed an act which was to result in the foundation of present-day Harvard College. Previous to this action a small school had been laboriously maintained by the struggling colony. Now it was felt that a seminary, where young men could be trained for the ministry, should be provided. The act of the legislature read:

> The Court agree to give Four Hundred Pounds towards a school or College, whereof Two Hundred Pounds shall be paid next year, and Two Hundred Pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building.[2]

The main purpose was to train ministers; thus the college in its inception was not what could be properly termed a university, but a theological seminary.

The first superintendent was Nathaniel Eaton, a choice that proved most unfortunate. " Of this man," declared a historian of the College, " nothing has been transmitted worthy of being remembered. He was ' convented before the magistrates ', and convicted of being passionate, quarrelsome, negligent, and cruel." But in spite of the mismanagement of Eaton, an unforeseen circumstance came to give permanent life to the half-born college. John Harvard, a new arrival from England, a man of culture, of deep interest in education, sick unto death with consumption, realized the significance of the projected college and upon his death in 1638, little over a year after his arrival, left half of his estate and his entire library to the college. Just what the half of his estate amounted to in cash has never been determined, but his library has been variously estimated between 250 and 300 books, a respectable collection for those days. When the legislature again met, it agreed to name the college John Harvard in recognition of his benevolence and in his memory. Thus came into being the present University of Harvard, the oldest and the most respected of our higher institutions of learning.

Its early growth was slow and filled with vicissitudes. Under Henry Dunster, who succeeded Eaton in 1640, it made slow but solid progress and in 1642, the first class was graduated under his presidency. It was in that year that the first charter was drafted regulating the college. Under Dunster's successors the college made progress, but under Increase Mather it became involved in the religious controversy that split the colony during the closing years of the century. Throughout the first years it was beset by poverty, the building was in urgent need of repairs, the president was paid in kind and had a difficult time keeping body and soul together, and the members of the teaching staff were even worse off.

First year students studied " logick, physics, disputes, Greek, etymology and syntax, grammar, Hebrew and rhetoric "; second year students, " ethics and politics, disputes, Greek and Hebrew, and rhetoric ". Third year students followed " arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, Greek, Hebrew, rhetoric, history, and nature of plants ". At this time there were three teachers besides the president.

Turning now to the southern colonies we find that in 1692, King William and Queen Mary granted a charter to the College of William and Mary in Virginia. This college, opened in 1693, has the distinction of having had its plans drawn by the famous English architect of Christ's Hospital, Sir Christopher Wren, and is the second college to be founded within the present limits of the United States. It is worthy of note that in the charter provision was made for this college to supply a certain amount of tobacco yearly for the support of the " infant institution of Harvard ".

William and Mary has been called the mother of statesmen. It was there that Washington obtained his surveyor's permit, that Jefferson went to school, that Phi Beta Kappa was founded, and that Monroe studied. But time does not permit our going into details. Life at William and Mary was less somber than at Harvard College and there were more points of similarity between its students and those of the University of Mexico.

But the contrast presented between the establishment of the first colleges and universities in Hispanic America and within the present limits of the United States is worthy of notice. One is inclined to reflect on the inverse progress of the institutions in one and the other country. The University of Mexico came into being in relative opulence, and although its professors were underpaid, they never suffered penury and want. On the other hand, the old College of Harvard had its origin in the most modest and humble circumstances. For years it had a precarious existence amid contending strife and dissension, but it finally evolved in the nineteenth century into our most revered and honored institution. The University of Mexico rapidly grew in splendor and prestige and for many years was the outstanding fountain of knowledge and learning in Spanish North America, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had fallen into disrepute and after a halting existence was finally suppressed in 1865 by Maximilian, not to be reopened until 1910 when it was reorganized. Since that date it has made rapid progress and promises to become once more the leading institution of learning in Mexico.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA.

# MISCELLANY

## France and the Establishment of the American Hierarchy

*An Epilogue to a Controversy*

Unlike the phenomena of natural science the facts of history are difficult to establish. They cannot be duplicated under conditions controlled by the investigator; they are unique and come to our knowledge only through reports and documents which are often fragmentary: moreover they involve the participation of human agents with their peculiar psychology, their prejudices and their mistakes, their temperament and their passions, their habits and their environment. The task of the historian is to reconstruct and to appreciate them; but his judgments, his determination of the responsibility of historical characters, his analysis of the motives which contributed to shape their actions and their policies imply a large element of subjectivity. If he wants to give a true picture of the events he narrates, he must always bear in mind Bacon's warning against the various *idola* which are apt to influence and hamper his judgment; and difficult as it may be, he must lay aside his preconceptions and let, as far as it is humanly possible, the facts appear in their true light.

When, a few years back,[1] I ventured to challenge the current interpretation of the rôle of France during the months which preceded the appointment of John Carroll as Superior of the Missions in the thirteen United States of North America, I did not expect to ruin at one stroke a thesis which had come to be regarded as historically established. It was therefore extremely gratifying to see competent reviewers of my modest essay admit at least the plausibility of my account of that episode. Without going so far as the reviewer of the *London Times Literary Supplement* (March 7, 1935), who called it "an unanswerable piece of countercriticism", Father La Farge, S. J., in *America* (July 7, 1934) concluded that my argument "does call for a definite suspension of unfavorable judgment until the facts are better known; as well as for a better realization of the disinterestedness and zeal of the French Catholics". Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., wrote in *The Fortnightly Review* (October, 1934) that my study "brings us a step closer to the truth and exemplifies the fact that history is a progressive science, whose occasional revolutionary findings we must at least consider if we

[1] *France and the establishment of the American Hierarchy. The Myth of French Interference* (Baltimore, Md., 1934).

would rid our annals of the myths that sometimes cling to characters and events of the past". Rev. Dr. Peter Leo Johnson admitted in *The Catholic Historical Review* (April, 1935) that "it is reasonably probable that [I had] made the extreme position held by the opposition untenable". And finally, Rev. Dr. E. A. Ryan, S J., recognized in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Louvain, April, 1936) that I had "well established that the usual solution which interprets the part played by France as an attempt to take control of the young American Church is too simple [*simpliste*] and calls for revision."

It is to be noted that, at least by preterition, those who are not yet ready to grant in full my contention, admit that I have made good the case of Marquis Barbé de Marbois, who had been charged by John Gilmary Shea with being the author of the scheme to bring the American missions under French jurisdiction.[2] Father La Farge, however, says explicitly: "Barbé-Marbois, the French Chargé d'Affaires, appears exonerated of the blame that has attached to him", but none of the critics attempts to answer my demonstration of the fact that he could not and did not originate such a scheme. Their whole concern is with the part which Talleyrand is supposed to have played in the negotiations. Thus Father La Farge writes that my argument "does not altogether dispel the uneasiness which arises at the sight of the negotiations of three such individuals as Cardinal Antonelli, fearful of the Jesuit restoration, the officious Franklin, and Talleyrand, notorious schemer, even though the existing record be clear." Dr. Ryan regrets that I admit "without serious discussion the relations of Benjamin Franklin with Talleyrand." Dr. Johnson, after having stated that "the real problem of the documents revolves around Franklin's recommendation of a French ecclesiastic to head the American religious organization, and includes the abrupt change of all parties in favor of an American to head it," maintains that evidence can be found of French pressure on Franklin, and argues:

> Franklin's proposal to confiscate the four English Benedictine monasteries for the purpose of securing a foundation to educate clerics who would be used in America, points so surely to a pet idea of Talleyrand, that some justification is discovered in ascribing this feature to him rather than to the American minister. Talleyrand's advice was sought by Vergennes . . . Talleyrand tells Vergennes that it is very important to adapt the plan of Rome to the view of Franklin. If Franklin depended on Talleyrand, it can be seen that the latter was pulling the wires in the background.

[2] *The Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, 219: "It seems to me from a study of the whole matter, that it was simply a petty intrigue of Barbé Marbois, to effect the nomination of some French priest to the projected vicariate."

In his *Life and Times of John Carroll*, Dr. Guilday had likewise referred to Talleyrand's participation in the *pourparlers* between the papal Nuncio, Franklin and Comte de Vergennes, without, however, ascribing to him the responsibility for the "French scheme", and he had authorized me to quote him [3] as feeling "the Bishop of Autun [by whom he meant Talleyrand], who was one of the chief officials in the Assemblée du Clergé, may have been prompted by the thought of the French clergy's contribution to desire to man the American Church."

To all these arguments, though, as Father La Farge says, "the existing record be clear", I had no answer. I felt as keenly as any one how suspicious should be a negotiation in which a wily and unsavory character like Talleyrand had taken a rather prominent part. True, a friend of mine, M. Casenave, a career diplomat who was intimately acquainted with the history and the traditions of French diplomacy, had assured me that the Bishop of Autun could not have played the part which was ascribed to him, and he had promised to supply me with the elements of an answer. In a letter accompanying a long review he had made of my essay in *La Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* (Octobre-Décembre, 1934, and Janvier—Mars, 1935), he wrote on July 5, 1935:

> As to the unfortunate story of Talleyrand's intervention in the affair of the Catholic hierarchy, I could write a short article of three or four pages in which I would give the most peremptory demonstration of the material impossibility of Talleyrand's intervening in that matter. It might interest some Americans to learn exactly what were the functions, in France under the Ancient Regime, first of the bishop who held what was called "la feuille des bénéfices", and, on the other hand, of the ecclesiastics, never bishops, who were Agents General of the Clergy. I am quite familiar with this question, as I have made a special study of the French Clergy under the Old Regime.

Unfortunately, a severe illness which led him to his grave, did not permit my friend to fulfill his promise. It was only a few months ago that one of my French confrères, M. Pierre Boisard, vice-superior general of St. Sulpice, gave me the key to the solution of that vexing problem. Having been asked to write a review of my essay for *La Revue d'Histoire des Colonies*,[4] he found that we had all made the mistake of identifying the Bishop of Autun, Monseigneur de Marbeuf, who was the Minister of Ecclesiastical Benefices at the time of the negotiations, with Talleyrand, who was indeed Agent General du Clergé in 1783-1784, but who became Bishop of Autun only in 1788. It is to my Confrère that I am indebted for the main fact-finding which enables me to write this epilogue to our controversy. I may be permitted to extend somewhat the scope of this

[3] *France and the Establishment* ... 179.

[4] 1937, Deuxième trimestre, 125-130.

article and to seize this occasion to offer some comments on certain remarks of reviewers of my essay who seem to remain bent on belittling the rôle of France in the affair of the appointment of John Carroll. It may interest the reader to know something of the worthy churchman, M. de Marbeuf, who was called upon by Comte de Vergennes to work out a plan for the education of American seminarians in compliance with the request of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide, and to present observations upon Franklin's proposal of appointing a French superior of the American missions; to learn what was the exact position of Talleyrand in Paris in those days; and to reflect a little on the character of French diplomacy when it was in the hands of Comte de Vergennes.

Talleyrand's predecessor in the see of Autun receives only brief mentions in biographical dictionaries. Whatever information I have been able to collect is found in a short article of Feller's *Biographie Universelle*.[5] Born in Rennes in 1734, Yves Alexandre de Marbeuf made his theological studies in the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris. Appointed Canon of the Cathedral of Lyons in 1758, he became vicar-general of Rouen in 1759, and was promoted to the bishopric of Autun in 1767. In 1777, he became Minister of Ecclesiastical Benefices and held that important office for twelve years. It was his duty to pass upon the qualifications of ecclesiastics who were to be presented to the Holy See for appointment to episcopal sees and other benefices. His biographer credits him with great wisdom and a high sense of responsibility, of which he finds evidence in the fact that, out of the forty-seven bishops who were appointed under his administration, only three took the schismatic oath during the French Revolution. One of them was Talleyrand; but as we shall see later on, it was against the opposition of Bishop Marbeuf that Louis XVI nominated Talleyrand in 1788 to the bishopric of Autun. De Marbeuf, himself, who had become Archbishop of Lyons in 1788, refused to take the oath and died in exile on April 16, 1799, comforted by several Briefs in which Pius VI had given him touching marks of his particular affection.

Such was the man who was called into consultation by Comte de Vergennes, who prevailed upon his friend the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Monseigneur de Cicé, to open his seminary to American students who would be educated at the king's expense for the American missions, and who wrote his *Observation sur la lettre de M. Franklin* of December 15, 1783. He indeed points out the need of adapting the Nuncio's plan for the education of the seminarians to the views of Franklin. But it is enough to read without prejudice the first paragraph of his *Observation*, to realize that he ascribes to the American Minister the initiative of the project and stresses the political motive which has prompted Franklin to submit it:

[5] Paris, 1849, V, 467.

> The sole object of M. Franklin is to obviate the political inconvenience resulting from the residence in London of the Bishop or ecclesiastical superior of the Roman Catholics of the United States of America. He asks for a French subject who would reside on the spot and have no relation with the Court of London.[6]

Bishop de Marbeuf was no politician, and his only business, besides the administration of his diocese, was to provide worthy occupants of episcopal sees. It was solely at the request of Comte de Vergennes and in an effort to meet the appeal of the papal nuncio on the one hand, and on the other, determine the worth of Franklin's proposal, that he was brought into the negotiation. In view of these facts and of his character, the supposition that he could have schemed for bringing the American Church under French control seems perfectly gratuitous.

When we come to Talleyrand we have abundant sources of information from which to draw. Even if they have to be read cautiously as the reminiscences of a man whose long life was fertile in incidents and who must have been intent on giving to posterity a favorable version of the rôle he had played in European politics, his *Memoirs*, which were published for the first time in 1891,[7] enable us at least to determine the position he was occupying in the years 1783-1784, and what were at that time his relations with the Court of Louis XVI and with the French Foreign Minister, Comte de Vergennes, and to decide whether or not he had an opportunity of helping to shape the French policy towards the United States, particularly regarding the question of the establishment of the American hierarchy.[8]

There is an element of tragedy in Talleyrand's early life and entrance into the ranks of the clergy. Charles Maurice was a scion of one of the most illustrious families of France, the Talleyrand-Périgords. His father, Charles Daniel, Comte de Talleyrand-Périgord, and his mother, Alexandrine Marie de Damas d'Antigny, were models of dignity in poverty. One of his uncles, Alexandre Angélique de Talleyrand, became coadjutor of Archbishop de la Roche-Aymon of Reims, in 1766, and succeeded that prelate in 1777; he became Archbishop of Paris after the fall of Napoleon, was created cardinal and died in 1821. Born in Paris, February 2, 1754, Charles was baptized the same day in the church of Saint-Sulpice, his parish. An accident which he suffered in his fifth

[6] Quoted from translation in *France and the Establishment*, 40. Original text, 61.

[7] *Mémoires du Prince de Talleyrand*, publiés avec une préface et des notes par le Duc de Broglie de l'Académie Française (5 vols., Paris, 1891-92).

[8] Another source to be used is the most complete and most recent biography of Talleyrand: *Talleyrand, 1754-1838*, by Lacour-Gayet, membre de l'Institut (4 vols., Paris, 1928).

year made him lame for the rest of his life, and was responsible for the decision taken by his family to direct his life toward the priesthood. He could not think of the army; the Church alone seemed to offer a career worthy of his name. To his grandmother who raised him he pays this tribute: "If in various positions I have preserved a certain elevation of soul without haughtiness, it was at Chalais, near my grandmother, that I have imbibed all the good sentiments with which I saw my parents surrounded." At the College of Harcourt (1763-1769) he was an indifferent scholar, and when in 1770, at the age of sixteen, he entered the seminary of Saint-Sulpice, he knew that he had no disposition for the priesthood. So little edifying was his conduct that, when the time came for him to receive major orders, he was refused the call to the subdiaconate and dismissed from the Seminary. Nevertheless, he held no grudge against the seminary directors and, years later, during the Congress of Vienna he confessed: "When I want to feel happy, I dream of Saint-Sulpice, and I recall the memories of those days." His uncle, coadjutor-Bishop of Reims, gave shelter to the young seminarian who was thus privileged with attending the coronation of Louis XVI on June 11, 1775. He had him also appointed member, for the province of Reims, of the Assembly of the Clergy which was held that year, and given the office of *promoteur*, or attorney. The reason of these *quinquiennal* meetings of the clergy of France[9] was to apportion the financial burdens laid upon the Church by the kings of France, and incidentally for other purposes. The *promoteurs* had to see that the rights, privileges and discipline of the Church were duly protected. Talleyrand tells us (*Memoires*, I, 32-33) that among other business the Assembly of 1775 dealt with the reformation of some religious Orders and thus paved the way for some of the religious reforms of the Revolution. He takes this occasion to render homage to clerical celibacy:

> More than any other, that institution has given its peculiar character to European civilization and its superiority over all others. It has often occurred to me that it was clerical celibacy that proved to be an essential obstacle to the establishment in Europe of the caste spirit, which, as history shows, generally tends to arrest the advance of civilization.

After that intermission, Talleyrand resumed his theological studies at the Sorbonne where he won his licenciate in 1778. On September 17, 1779, he was ordained deacon by his uncle and on December 18, he received the priesthood in a state of despair, realizing how unfitted he was, but saying: "It is too late; impossible to go back." His uncle made him at once vicar-general of Reims.

[9] See "Assemblies of the French Clergy," by J. Sicard, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 795-796.

The following year, 1780, we find him back in Paris, having been appointed, at the age of 26, one of the Agents General of the clergy. His functions brought Talleyrand into relation with men of high office such as Maurepas, Turgot, Malesherbes and de Calonne. However, his interest was not then in foreign affairs but in economic problems. He mentions in his *Mémoires* (I, 52) such items as an unsuccessful fight for the suppression of the national lottery, efforts to raise the financial status of the country priests and to facilitate the marriage of the wives of sailors who had been lost at sea, and above all a study of the organization of a system of public credit, which led him to undertake a tour of the provinces to make a survey of the systems of taxation. If in 1785 he expressed his regret of the opposition of the French provinces to the Franco-English treaty of commerce, he based his attitude not so much on political as on economic grounds, namely his preference for free trade. I have found no trace of his having come in contact with Comte de Vergennes or with Franklin whose name he does not even mention.

But was he not nevertheless attentive to what was going on on the other side of the Atlantic? Although he had grown up in the midst of the agitation created by the War of Independence among the French nobility of his generation, Talleyrand does not appear to have been caught in the wave of enthusiasm which carried Lafayette and so many others to the aid of the American colonies. He seems rather to have been impressed unfavourably by the effects of that agitation on French minds. In his *Mémoires*, he pictures the young nobles as rather startled by the rise of Washington, a commoner, to the highest office and led to believe that the true titles to honor and distinction should be the services rendered to the cause of freedom, and to expect from America all sorts of reforms and progress. "Que ferions-nous sans l'Amérique?" As for himself, he reserved his sympathies, and, at least in his old age, he lamented the imprudent policy which had allowed so many to go to America and bring back with them revolutionary ideas. "I must say it again; that portion of the army which was so imprudently sent to the help of the English colonies . . . had imbibed in the new world the doctrines of equality. They came back full of admiration for these doctrines and also possibly filled with the desire to apply them in France." (*Mémoires*, I, 120) Personally he would prefer to have seen France turn her attention from the New World to the Mediterranean basin, which she could have controlled with the help of Spain, her ally. In this way, he claims, France would have rendered an essential service to mankind by stopping or at least lessening the movement of emigration which drew towards America many of his generation. This is hardly the language of a man who is suspected with having entertained the dream of implanting French influence in the United States by linking the struggling American missions with the Church of France. If it be said that he wrote in this

tone as a disillusioned old man, I can only answer that he does not give the least hint of a change in his views, and that at any rate, as early as 1786, the same objection to French emigration to America had been used by the French consul, Otto, as a reason for not having a French church in the United States.[10] Moreover, even if he had entertained such a dream, Talleyrand's position as Agent General of the Clergy almost exclusively engaged in the financial problems of the Church of France, would not have given him an opportunity to press his suggestions on the Foreign Minister and still less upon Franklin. He was not *persona grata* at the court of Louis XVI. The disfavor of the king brought to naught his earlier efforts to have himself made cardinal and later on Archbishop of Bourges. That opposition was to be overcome only in 1788, when at the request of his dying father, and against the protest of his own mother added to the objections of Bishop de Marbeuf, he was nominated to the See of Autun by Louis XVI, who then expressed the hope that the episcopal dignity might induce him to reform his life. To escape the Terror, he spent in England the whole of 1793 and was driven from England to America in 1794 by the Alien Bill. He landed in Philadelphia, and visited Bethlehem, Baltimore, Boston, New York, Maine and Ohio, but he never refers in his *Mémoires* to the Catholic communities which existed in those places.

I do not think any more need be said to justify the characterization of Talleyrand's supposed intrigue as entirely imaginary, and even as my friend said, a material impossibility. He was not the Bishop of Autun who was summoned by Comte de Vergennes to deal with the nuncio and the American Minister, and nothing in his record, in his position, or in his ideas regarding America justifies the suspicion that it was he who suggested to Franklin the plan of confiscating the four English Benedictine monasteries, which was rejected at once by the nuncio and does not appear to have been considered by Vergennes, and he must be absolved of the charge that "he pulled the wires in the background" to have a French bishop appointed over the American missions.

If then, as Dr. Johnson puts it, "the real problem of the documents revolves around Franklin's recommendation of a French ecclesiastic to head the American religious organization, and includes the abrupt change of all parties in favor of an American to head it", and if it is assumed that pressure must have been exercised upon Franklin, one must look for some other influence than that of either Barbé de Marbois or Talleyrand. But is it necessary to assume the existence of some French pressure upon Franklin? And does it mean that French diplomacy remains condemned, even though the only shred of evidence that has been adduced against it is based upon the suspicions of the English Jesuits who were

[10] See *France and the Establishment*, 94.

to suffer most from the alteration in their relations with the American Church, whoever might be appointed to be the head of the American missions? This is the contention of Dr. Johnson who passes severe strictures on the French diplomacy of that period. I shall quote only two of the more pointed ones:

> While no brief can be entertained to comfort the ultra-pagan spirit of diplomacy as then practised, it is believed that a word like intrigue, without all its possible moral implications, may suffice to characterize the negotiations of the French authorities in the affair under consideration. No doubt it can be rightly affirmed that Count Vergennes was the most honest of diplomats of his day, but he lived in a political world of rogues and skeptics and had to make a go of it with them. So when he is accused of versatility and duplicity in diplomatic affairs, some discounting may be done owing to the political customs of the time. In some such way the word intrigue, used in reference to the Franco-American Catholic relationship of 1783-1784, may be toned down (*loc. cit.*, 89).

And again:

> No argument about lofty aims or highmindedness may be built from the fact that the Holy See and Fathers Carroll and Thorpe employed or advised French mediation, from time to time. All the evidence points to expediency. The great Catholic powers had crippled missionary effort by a monopoly which the establishment of Propaganda was calculated to break, but did not, and so Rome and others were obliged to recognize the fact. When the Jesuits were under a secular ban in the various Catholic countries, the initiative for their suppression was engineered by France, and so it is misleading to write that "under pressure of the European Catholic Powers led by Pombal, the prime minister of Portugal, Pope Clement XIV had sacrificed the Jesuits and suppressed their Society." The suppression of the Jesuits was a final blow to the missions. At the time of the Franco-American conferences there is some reason to think that the same anti-clerical spirit was present which is believed by some historians to have sacrificed Canada on account of the hatred of the Jesuits, and because they were so successful and dominant in that country. So it is believed that negotiations were routine affairs and had nothing to do with trust, honor, and friendship in the ordinary sense of the terms, but might permit their use in a diplomatic meaning. No matter how Dr. Baisnée's speculation may be in his interpretation of the American ex-Jesuits' attitude towards Propaganda as a foreign intruder and greedy for their property, the American Fathers had a real confiscatory power to deal with when treating with France. All the Fathers had to do was to recall the recent violent confiscations and arrest at Kaskaskia and Vincennes (*loc. cit.*, 90).

From this broad indictment I shall select five points which strike me not only as more pertinent, but also as less substantiated and more manifest exaggerations: a) the characterization of Vergennes' world as "a

political world of rogues and skeptics" with whom he had to make "a go of it"; b) the relationship of Propaganda with the principal groups of missionaries and their respective governments; c) the attribution to France of the initiative in the move to suppress the Jesuits; d) the assignment of hatred of the Jesuits as a motive for sacrificing Canada; e) the confiscatory policy ascribed to France in the matter of the missions of Kaskaskia and Vincennes.

I know as well as anybody the trend of ideas that developed in France in the XVIII century and led to the outbreak of the Revolution. But I fail to see that it necessarily entailed, at once and in every instance, the introduction into French diplomacy of an "anti-clerical and ultra-pagan spirit", and the utter incompatibility of the political diplomacy practised by Vergennes in those days "with the ordinary significance attached to words like generosity, disinterested coöperation, or what not associated with honor and justice". There have been indeed famous French diplomats like Richelieu, Mazarin, Choiseul and Talleyrand who were not averse to using intrigue to further their policies, but it is an exaggeration to state as a general proposition that statesmen consistently follow a moral code entirely different from that of private men. A little familiarity with their private correspondence, and in particular with the ciphered, and therefore secret, despatches of Vergennes forces upon the reader the conviction that he used words expressing genuinely human Christian feelings. If he was intent in safeguarding French interests, he at least did not fall in for the machiavellian doctrine of setting the interest of the state above personal integrity and common morality. Louis XVI, the sovereign he served, had been raised in the principles of Fénelon's anti-machiavellian political philosophy, and he is blamed by some historians for having, by his strict adherence to the true Christian traditions of the French monarchy, weakened the royal authority and thus paved the way for the Revolution.[11] Comte de Vergennes, who, in a Memoir to the King, had made bold to promise that the honesty (*la droiture*) and moderation of his policy would secure order, peace and justice in Europe, is revealed in his correspondence with Conrad Gérard, the first French minister to the United States (1778–1779),[12] as exercising that honesty and moderation, and I dare say also, that generosity towards all parties concerned: the United States whose independence cost so much to France and to the French monarchy; Great Britain whom he aimed perhaps to weaken but not to humiliate; and Spain whose interests he had to defend against the

[11] See A. Chérel, *La Pensée de Machiavel en France*. Paris, 1935, Ch. IX, *L'Idéalisme politique sous Louis XV et Louis XVI*.

[12] These Despatches, edited by Dr. John Meng, of the Catholic University, are now in the press and will be published shortly in the series of the *Historical Documents of the Institut Français de Washington*.

greed of a certain faction of the American Congress. Well could Franklin, writing to Robert Livingston, American Secretary of State, speak of France's "justice and magnanimity", without giving these words a merely "diplomatic meaning".[13] If some historians prefer to see national aggrandizement or some immediate interest as the unique object of politics, and to regard "the means and efforts of all ministers and diplomats as bent towards one end: not to be fooled but to fool others", let them be content with their cynical understanding of human nature; I prefer to recognize, alongside a minority "of rogues and skeptics", the existence of a goodly number of men of honor and integrity and I feel that I have the right to place Vergennes among them.

To minimize the value for my thesis of the fact that it was the Holy See that called for the coöperation of France in the reorganization of the American Church, and that the American Jesuits employed or advised French mediation, the same reviewer argues that their motive was pure expediency, and that Rome and others were forced to recognize the fact that "the great Catholic powers had crippled missionary effort by a monopoly, which the establishment of Propaganda was calculated to break, but did not." Let us look at the facts. In his sketch on Propaganda,[14] U. Benigni distinguishes two phases in the history of that Congregation: one formative stage from Gregory XIV (1572–1585) to 1622, and the other constitutive, and he gives two reasons for its establishment; partly the necessity of communicating with new countries then recently discovered, and partly the new system (in the Church) of government by congregations adopted during the Counter-Reformation. Not the least allusion is made to the need of breaking a monopoly. The great missionary countries were Spain, Portugal and France who sent to Asia and America Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits. To these missionaries were added in the XVIIth century the French Society of Foreign Missions and the Sulpicians. There may have been at times between these different groups conflicts of jurisdiction, embittered perhaps by national jealousies; governments may have sought to utilize the influence of missionaries. Propaganda may have been called upon to settle differences; but its great concern at the end of the XVIIIth century, and particularly in America, was the problem of providing for the vacancies in the rank of missionaries that were bound to follow upon the suppression of the Jesuits, and it is not correct to say that it was established, but failed, to break a monopoly. There is, it seems, little generosity in the view of Catholic historians who would reduce to the level of commercial and political enterprises the labors of men who had consecrated themselves to the evangelization of the pagan world and had carried their self-denial to the point of martyrdom.

[13] Letter of July 22, 1783, quoted in *France and the Establishment*, 16.

[14] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII, 456.

But their governments, it is said, suppressed the Jesuits, and in particular the French government is accused of having sacrificed Canada on account of its hatred of the Society which it found too dominant in that province, and having been guilty of violent confiscations and arrests which more than justify the historians' distrust of its policy. The same writer objects to my attribution to Portugal of the initiative of the pressure exercised upon Clement XIV for the suppression of the Jesuits. Now, it is under the pen of a Jesuit writer, Sidney F. Smith,[15] that I read:

> It was in France only that the hostility to the Society had taken root in an influential class of the people, but it was in Portugal that administrative measures were first taken, and it was the king of Spain who eventually took the lead in demanding its total suppression.

And it is to be noted that in 1764 the hand of Louis XV had been forced by the *Parlement* of Paris, which was a court of justice, and that the immediate cause had been the imprudent financial enterprises of Père Antoine de la Valette in Martinique.[16] Upon which Sidney Smith comments:

> It seems that the original Edict [of suppression] was long and circumstantial, reciting all the steps taken by the Parlements, but this the King refused to adopt, ordering that in place of it should be set down that "the Society having excited a great fermentation in the kingdom, he ordered all to leave it, and that he would accord them a maintenance wherever they went". The King also objected to the word "punish", which "said a great deal too much". He did not, he writes, cordially love the Jesuits, but felt it was their triumph that all heresies detested them; if he banished them for the sake of the peace of his kingdom, yielding therein to the advice of others, he did not wish it to be thought that he assented to all that the Parlements had said or done against them; and he concludes by saying, "I hold my tongue or I might say too much" (Vol. XCIX, 516).

In another place (Vol. XCIX, p. 626) he contrasts the manner in which the suppressions were effected in the three countries: France, Portugal and Spain. "In France there was at all events a trial in a Court of Justice to investigate the charges brought against the Jesuits. . . . In Portugal there was no trial . . . but at all events there was a public statement of the offences charged. In Spain, on the other hand, the Jesuits were not even permitted to know what was the crime for their supposed commission of which they were visited with a punishment more drastic than that

[15] "The Suppression of the Society of Jesus," *The Month*, Vol. XCIX, February, 1902, to Vol. CII, August, 1903.

[16] See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 97.

which befell them in either France or Portugal." And he pays to the personal attitudes of both Louis XV and Louis XVI toward the Society an ungrudging tribute, which seems to be, by anticipation, a refutation of the charge of anticlericalism levelled against them, or at least against their governments. Sidney Smith writes about Louis XV:

> It is a curious fact that although Louis XV. had joined so readily with Carlos III. in demanding the suppression, as soon as it was granted, he began to think of re-establishing the Order, not indeed as a world-wide Society, but as a Congregation, having the same rules and government, within the limits of his own States. It was because the loss of the Jesuits in education was acutely felt, and his Carmelite daughter, Madame Louise, had united with the French Bishops to induce him to grant this solace to the outraged feelings of so many devout Catholics (Vol. CI, 514).

And about Louis XVI:

> As regards their (the ex-Jesuits') fate in France a very few words must suffice. Any hopes they may have founded on the favourable dispositions of Louis XV, and the influence of his Carmelite daughter, were terminated by his sad end on May 10, 1774. With the accession of Louis XVI, came also the end of d'Aiguillon's Ministry, who was succeeded by Comte de Vergennes. Louis XVI, though his reign was destined to be unfortunate, was an upright and religious-minded man. Had he come to the throne twenty years sooner, it is not likely that the anti-Jesuit faction would have succeeded in its designs. But this new King was young and inexperienced, and besides the suppression was now a *fait accompli*, and could not well be reversed at once. The French ex-Jesuits were left free to accept service under the Bishops for the discharge of clerical functions, but the idea of forming them into a purely French Congregation lapsed for the time, to be revived when the storms of the French Revolution were spent (*ibid.*).

I am not trying to exonerate either the French kings or their ministers of all share in the treatment inflicted on the Jesuits, but is it fair to blame on Louis XVI and on Comte de Vergennes the hostility shown to the Society by the *Parlement* and the weakness of Louis XV? And is it right seriously to imagine that the sacrifice of Canada for which Montcalm fought so valiantly was inspired by hatred for the Jesuits? True, we have the well known *mot* of Voltaire, who could not understand how France would bleed herself to death for the preservation of " quelques arpents de neige "; but Voltaire's opinion was that of a private citizen who was not invited to the king's councils. Finally, it seems inconsistent to picture a government ready on the one hand to sacrifice a colony for fear of ecclesiastical influence, and on the other thinking of making the Church the basis of its influence in the United States.

Of the incidents at Kaskaskia and Vincennes in the year 1763 which are adduced as evidence of France's confiscatory policy we find the following account in John Gilmary Shea's *The Catholic Church in the Colonial Days* (586–589). Shea writes:

> Imitating their [the French Parlements'] example the Superior Council of Louisiana, in 1763, resolved to act, and on the 9th of June, this insignificant body of provincial officers, assuming to decide in matters ecclesiastical of which they were profoundly ignorant, issued a decree.

This decree declared null and void the vows taken by the Jesuits, and ordered all their property, including the chapels attended by the Fathers in Louisiana and Illinois and also in Vincennes, to be seized and sold at auction, while the Fathers themselves were to be deported. Indeed, it was a deplorable action. But let us compare the dates. It was in February, 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, that Canada was ceded by France to England with the city of Mobile and the part of Louisiana on the left bank of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans. Already by the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762, Louis XV had made to Charles III of Spain a gift of "the country known by the name of Louisiana, as well as New Orleans and the island in which that city is situated." So, in June, 1763, at the time of the confiscations and expulsions at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, France had lost her jurisdiction over those territories, and whatever happened there should not be blamed on the French government.

But it is time to conclude an argument which may appear fastidious to the reader. Let us then return for a moment to what has been called "the real problem", namely Franklin's recommendation of a French ecclesiastic to head the American missions at the end of the War of Independence, and the abrupt change of all parties in favor of an American. If we abide by the evidence supplied by the documents, nowhere, except in a passing remark of the Englishman, Father Plowden, do we find even a hint of French pressure upon Franklin or upon the Roman authorities. I have, I trust, eliminated the hypothesis of such pressure on the part of Barbé de Marbois, of Msgr. de Marbeuf, the real "Bishop of Autun", and of Talleyrand himself. If one tries to figure out how Franklin came to entertain the project of appointing a French bishop which he submitted to Comte de Vergennes, it seems that the documents at hand give us the answer. As early as January 15, 1783, Cardinal Antonelli, in his first Instructions to the Paris nuncio, directs him to endeavor to secure permission from Congress, "if available natives should not be found, to appoint foreigners, always however, from among the most impartial and agreeable to the government". Acting upon the Prefect's instructions the nuncio, in a Note to Franklin, July 28, 1783, foresees the necessity that "Congress be pleased to consent that the choice [of a bishop] be made among the subjects of a foreign nation, the most friendly to the United

States". That suggestion appeals to Franklin who, in his Observations on the Note to the nuncio, states his opinion "that Congress will not fail to give its tacit approval to the choice that the Court of Rome, in concert with the minister of the United States, might make of a French ecclesiastic". Franklin's letter of December 15 to Comte de Vergennes seems to be the practical embodiment of a suggestion which he had received from the Papal nuncio and which he supports with political arguments in perfect harmony with his general views. Nobody seems to know why that plan failed of execution, and why it was John Carroll and not a French ecclesiastic who was appointed. But this much ought to be clear: the plan had not a French origin; and, when it was submitted to the French authorities, it was received rather coldly in Paris, and in the United States it was warmly opposed by the French Chargé d'Affaires, Barbé de Marbois. My solution, it is said, is too simple, but why should its simplicity prevent its being true?

JULES A. BAISNÉE

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Papacy and World-Affairs as Reflected in the Secularization of Politics.* By CARL CONRAD ECKHARDT, Professor of History in the University of Colorado. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 296.)

There has been a noticeable increase in the interest of historians and students of politics of late in the rôle played by the papacy in international relations both past and present. Such volumes as the one under review will not only further stimulate that interest, but what is more important they will contribute to an enlightenment of what is at best a complex problem, namely the relations of Church and State. Professor Eckhardt writes like a true historian in the sense that he not only gives ample evidence of a grasp on the literature of the subject with close documentation on almost every page, but he interprets his sources with an objectivity which reassures the reader as to his competence and ability.

By far the greater part of this monograph deals with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and its consequences upon papal prestige and power in the ensuing years. The first 50 pages of the volume are devoted to a brief summary of the theories of papal power over secular governments throughout the Middle Ages and the actual practice up to the Westphalian peace conference. The last 60 pages treat the period from 1648 to the present with mention of some quite recent examples of the Church-State struggle such as that in Germany in 1935. The great body of the work, therefore, is given over to an explanation of the attitude of the papacy anent the Westphalian settlements, the protests of Rome lodged against the treaties, and an analysis of the controversial literature which arose in those years. The latter sprang up between the warring camps of Catholic and Protestant theorists and pamphleteers, giving their interpretations to the claims of the papacy for supremacy over temporal governments. It is in the last item that Professor Eckhardt has made his chief contribution, *viz.*, an analysis of the writings of such Catholic apologists as the 17th century Jesuits: Fathers Laymann, Forer and Wangnereck, and their Protestant adversaries, chiefly Dorsche and Conring. Father Wangnereck, the most important of the Catholic theorists in the Westphalian era, was an extremist in the sense that he laid claims to powers for the papacy over secular governments in his *Judicium theologicum* and other works, which were reminiscent of the days of Innocent and Boniface VIII. However, all Catholics did not agree with Wangnereck. Among the "moderates" were Johann Vervaux, S.J., close adviser of Maxmilian, Duke of Bavaria, and even Father Caraffa, the General of the Jesuits, who did not, of course,

deny the papal claims, but felt so concerned about Wangnereck's extreme pamphlets on the subject, as to order Father Wangnereck temporarily imprisoned—a situation from which he was promptly freed, however, as soon as word of it reached Pope Innocent X, who approved the Jesuit's ideas in the main (pp. 188–189).

In this struggle Father Caraffa, as General of the Society, was facing the practical danger to the welfare of his Society from the retaliations which the "moderate" German Catholic princes threatened if Wangnereck and his followers were not stopped. Caraffa realized that the Holy See might go on condemning treaties and sending protests to the heads of governments, but that little would come of such acts. Doubtless he had in mind such signs of the times as the fact that there was but one of all the German princes, ecclesiastical and lay, the Archbishop of Trier, who even published in his dominions the protest of Innocent X against the treaties of Westphalia (p. 153). So far had the power of the papacy in secular politics disappeared by 1648 that Catholic princes were nullifying ahead of time any effect which the protest of the pope might have upon their deliberations and actions.

In a brief section (pp. 210–242) Professor Eckhardt sets down the protests which the Holy See has made from that of Innocent X against the Westphalian treaties down to the protest of Pius X in 1905 against the unilateral action of the French government in ending the Concordat of 1801 (p. 240). The reader cannot help but be impressed by the fact that such action on the part of the Holy See through the years from 1648 to 1905 has been futile in the main and barren of any practical effect. However, it is in no way to be wondered at that the Holy See should go on protesting just the same, as when the powers at the Congress of Vienna did not scruple to assign Ferrara and other papal territories north of the Po to Austria (p. 226). No one can suppose that the astute Cardinal Consalvi confidently expected to get the territories back by his protest, but yet silence on his part would lend consent to the theft of what was the pope's legitimate possession. Again when Pius IX was faced by the growing menace to his territorial sovereignty from the rising Kingdom of Italy, he protested repeatedly between 1860 and 1870 (pp. 230–233). The pope did not save his state or his city, but would one expect him to maintain silence?

While the work as a whole is very well done, it may not be profitless to enter some objections to a few of the author's statements. For example, recent scholarship emphasizes that the Avignon popes were not quite the complete political tools of the French monarchy which earlier historians led us to believe and whose opinions Dr. Eckhardt seems to follow (p. 17). Then is it not too early to speak of "the medieval idea of unity" being "dead" when the delegates at the Council of Constance in 1414 decided to vote by nations? Nor strictly speaking can one, in that period, talk

of the "nation of Spain" (p. 20). I should demur to calling the religious change in England under Henry VIII a forcible "reform" (p. 25). Forcible it was—but not a reform. More serious is the failure of Professor Eckhardt to clarify his remarks concerning Jesuit confessors at the courts of the German princes sending information to the General in Rome—information which they got in "the capacity of confessors" (p. 62). This expression is too readily interpreted as a breaking of the seal of the confessional. Again one cannot attribute the growing sterility of the French Church in the late 17th and 18th centuries alone to Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes (p. 158). Lastly, Catholic political theorists today—just the same as in the Middle Ages—hold that "human society has a divine purpose" (p. 205); in other words, when Professor Eckhardt says that, "these and other medieval thinkers could not get away from the idea", he might add that Catholic theorists have not yet and never will get away from the idea of the divine purpose of human society. These criticisms are but minor points in what is otherwise a fine piece of work.

Professor Eckhardt's volume contains an extensive bibliography which is classified into mss. and printed works. Worthy of comment is the numerous items from periodical literature listed in the bibliography, and also the author's very wide acquaintance with and use of Catholic works on the subject. The reviewer noticed the absence of Father Brodrick's *St. Peter Canisius* which would have been of real service, as well as Salembier's *Great Schism of the West*, and the three recent scholarly volumes of Eduardo Soderini on the life and activities of Pope Leo XIII. The Brodrick book may have appeared too late to be seen by the author. There is an adequate index and the volume is well printed. The reviewer did notice the following slips: (p. 10—top) the Treaty of Madrid was signed in January, 1526, not 1525; (p. 15—bottom) Innocent III's bull was *Novit ille*, not *Novite ille;* (p. 55—top) one should read 'princes' for 'princess'; (p. 113—top) read 'May' for 'Mary'; (p. 116—bottom) 'confession' should be read for 'confessional'; (p. 240—bottom) carries the statement that all the great powers except the United States have since the World War had diplomatic representatives at the Vatican, but this is not true of Russia and Japan, though the latter recently recognized the former Apostolic Delegate to Tokyo as a Papal Nuncio. It is customary to speak of the great reforming pope—if one prefixes his title—as Pope Gregory VII, rather than 'Pope Hildebrand' (p. 249). Finally, at the top of p. 258 it is not quite accurate to speak of "Protestant Germany, Great Britain and Scandinavia",—of the latter two, yes, but Germany has too large a Catholic minority to justify placing it in the same category with Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries in respect to religion.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*Pierre D'Ailly and the Council of Constance.* By the Rev. John P. McGowan, C.M., S.T.L. (Washington: The Catholic University of America. 1936. Pp. x, 93.)

This doctoral dissertation, submitted to the Faculty of the School of Sacred Sciences in the Catholic University of America, is a presentation and interpretation of the important rôle of Cardinal Peter D'Ailly in the epoch-marking Ecumenical Council held at Constance (1414–1418). That the able and scholarly churchman of Cambrai contributed much to what that Council may have accomplished cannot be seriously questioned. Consequent, however, to this contribution there is an unenviable responsibility also, which attaches itself to him as to all members of the Conciliar party of that period. Not all of these were as sincere in their efforts as the great Cardinal and his former pupil and lasting friend, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, John Gerson. These two loyal sons of the Church, in trying to remedy a situation brought about by a divided Papacy, which the Western Schism (1378–1414) had caused, publicized damaging theories that were to prove ready weapons for future conciliar pretensions—the claim of the superiority of a General Council over the Vicar of Christ.

Much of the present monograph deals with the actual history of the Council of Constance in its chronological progression and activity. This work, of course, had already been done previously and in quite detailed fashion. The importance of Dr. McGowan's work lies in an appreciation of the rôle played by Cardinal D'Ailly in the assembling and in the accomplishments of that notable gathering of Western Christendom. Accordingly, the great churchman is shown as the leader of the Council and the most potent influence therein. The former he truly was, but it may perhaps be questioned if his influence surpassed that of the saintly and scholarly Gerson.

Much attention, naturally, is given in the present volume to the reform proposals which the Cardinal vainly introduced. As has been long recognized, these proposals were really the reformatory decrees of the later Council of Trent, and the failure of the Council of Constance to act upon them at an earlier age—and perhaps save the Church from the religious revolt of the sixteenth century—is the most damaging indictment that can be placed against the assembly at Constance. This, among other failures, was a most lamentable one.

A number of sermons and memoranda of Cardinal D'Ailly, which were set before the Council, are also given in the present work. It is, therefore, a matter of some surprise that in a monograph on the great Cardinal there is no evidence to show that the fourth volume of Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis* (1928), was utilized. This last volume affords additional material and criticism on these sermons and memoranda.

The author rightly points out that a superficial study of the part played by Cardinal D'Ailly in the Council, and a too summary view of the changes in policy and sentiment that he adopted, might too readily foster the the erroneous notion that the Cardinal was a mere opportunist. The fact is, as the monograph shows, that D'Ailly pursued a really consistent policy whose object was the restoration of unity to the Church — and to this everything else was sacrificed. It is a mistake to judge the motives of men like D'Ailly in the light of subsequent clarifications by the Councils of Trent and the Vatican. They should be judged rather in the dimmer light of their own times — an age of chaos in which the anomalous conditions brought about by the Western Schism made traditional Catholic procedure appear futile and hopeless. The present work of Dr. McGowan is, therefore, a contribution to a better understanding of this period and a more sympathetic appraisal of the churchmen who labored therein for Church unity.

GEORGE C. POWERS, M.M.

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*Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140–1187)*. By MARSHALL WHITHED BALDWIN. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1936. Pp. x, 177. $2.00.)

Dr. Baldwin's study, a revision of part of his doctoral dissertation, offers a very satisfactory explanation of the situation in the Latin East during the years immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem. It deals with men rather than with institutions and economic or social phenomena. It shows that jealousies and blunders of a few selfish barons prepared the way for Saladin's victories. As the title indicates, the treatment centers about Raymond III of Tripolis, the most important figure among the Latins of Syria in that period. Representing the party of the native barons he was twice made regent. When by a ruse of the court party Guy of Lusignan seized the crown of Jerusalem, Raymond refused him recognition. Raymond sulked and held out for his own rights instead of looking only to the good of the kingdom. He made an alliance with Saladin and as a consequence the breach widened between him and the court party. Ultimately as a tragic result of his treason and an earlier act of avarice the sound advice of Raymond was spurned when he sought to avert the battle of Hattin, and this battle spelled the doom of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The author makes no hero of Raymond, who, though he has outstanding ability, falls short of greatness. He admits that Raymond's dealings with Saladin actually amounted to treason, but he gives the extenuating circumstances and defends him from the exaggerated blame heaped upon him by various chroniclers. The sources naturally do not permit of a

psychological study. Dr. Baldwin excels in his description of the battle of Hattin. He has wrested far more from the sources than have any of his predecessors. Indications on the topography and military tactics are worked out with the minutest care.

The study is thoroughly documented and the author frequently lets the sources tell the story. The sources are dealt with in a brief critical bibliography and the literature on the battle of Hattin receives special treatment in an appendix. Another appendix describes Raymond's lordship of Tiberias and a third discounts the accusation brought by certain chroniclers that Raymond betrayed his fellow Christians into the hands of Saladin.

The book is remarkably free from typographical errors. Presumably "this all" should read "all this" on page 42 and "one modest historian" should read "one modern historian" on page 53. The bishop of Tiberias should be referred to as a suffragan rather than an auxiliary of the archbishop of Tiberias (page 58). *Sythiensi* (pp. 159 and 164) should be put into the nominative case, or the title should be cited as it appears in the edition. *Aquicinensis* (pp. 159 and 163) should agree with *Annales* (Bouquet, however, the edition referred to, uses *Ex Annalibus Aquicinctensis Monasterii*).

A. K. Ziegler.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*L'Oeuvre Pédagogique et Religieuse de Saint Jean Baptiste de La Salle.* By Georges Rigault. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1937. Pp. x, 627.)

This volume, the first of a series which proposes to trace the history of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools from its beginnings to the present time, is divided into three parts: (a) popular education in France prior to the time of Saint John Baptist de La Salle, Founder of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; (b) the history of the Institute from its origin to the year 1719; (c) the spiritual and pedagogical writings of Saint John Baptist de La Salle.

In language which may truly be called *invulnérable*, M. Georges Rigault remains singularly faithful to the promise he makes in the preface of his book: "*se réaliser dans la sphère de la vérité documentaire, dans la discussion des faits, de l'explication psychologique, de la recherche des causes*".

His documentation is abundant and unquestionable. When he treats of the lives and works of the Founder and his first followers, he takes his material from all that has been written on these subjects during the past two hundred years. For his demonstration of the intimate connection between the Institute and the Church of France, he has recourse to the best authorities in ecclesiastical and profane history. And his bases of comparison for the pedagogical aspect of Saint de La Salle's immense activity are the universally accepted historians of pedagogy.

It must not be thought, however, that M. Rigault's handling of his sources is nothing more than a compilation, a repetition of what others have said or thought or written. A mere cursory glance through the six-hundred-page volume would prove that such is not the case. With the painstaking skill of the trained and conscientious historian, the author makes use of the documents at hand merely as a starting point for the task he has set himself. After a scrupulous coördination and subordination of the facts he has found, he proceeds to discuss them logically, convincingly and with a frankness that is at once audacious and refreshing. A typical example of this last-mentioned characteristic is his analysis of the conflict between Saint John Baptist de La Salle and Joachim Trotti de La Chetardye, curé of Saint Sulpice and long heralded as one of the holy Founder's most helpful collaborators. A conflict "*d'abord imperceptible, puis latent, puis déclaré*" caused Saint de La Salle untold mental and physical torture, and which, had the outcome been otherwise, would have meant the inevitable disappearance of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

Students of the history of education will find much that is interesting and perhaps revealing in M. Rigault's treatment of the conception and development of the common schools in France in the just and detailed tributes paid to Saint de La Salle's immediate predecessors in this field, Charles Démia, le Père Barré and Nicolas Roland.

M. Rigault's chapters on the writings of Saint de La Salle are real masterpieces. His extraordinarily comprehensive discussion of "*l'Explication de la Méthode d'Oraison*" shows his thorough acquaintance not only with the Founder's own principles of mental prayer but also with the "*Méthodes*", which are the sources of these principles. His detailed outline and commentary of the Founder's "*Conduite des Ecoles Chrétiennes*" justly acknowledges Saint de La Salle's debt to his many predecessors and concludes with all historians of education that "in the field of primary education the accomplishments as well as the names of these men would have perished with them or the results achieved would have lacked cohesion, breadth, and definite worth if Saint John Baptist de La Salle had not discovered the secret of a workable synthesis".

An attentive reading of this first volume of the projected complete history of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools makes us easily understand the wish expressed by the Very Reverend Father Gillet, Master General of the Dominicans: "*C'est en effet un volume imposant, un beau portique qui annonce un magnifique cathédrale . . . de présenter mes félicitations à l'architecte, et de lui dire mon impatience de voir s'achever bientôt l'édifice*".

BROTHER CYPRIAN EDWARD, F.S.C.

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*Un Maître de Sainte Thérèse. Le Père François d'Osuna. Sa Vie, Son Oeuvres, Sa Doctrine Spirituelle.* Par le PÈRE FIDELE DE ROS, des Frères Mineurs Capucins. (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne. 1936. Pp. xx, 704.)

Fray Francisco de Osuna was so completely forgotten by the turn of the century that his name is found neither in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* nor in the *Kirchenlexikon*. His emergence from total oblivion is largely due to the revival of interest in mysticism, seconded by the altogether fortuitous circumstance that a copy of his first publication, the *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual*, came as a gift from an uncle to a young Carmelite nun, Saint Teresa of Avila. That copy, now yellowed with age, heavily scored and diacritically marked by the hand of the saint, is still extant, unless it has perished in the present Spanish catastrophe. But Osuna (so named after his native place) as an orthodox writer of great influence and of outspoken frankness deserves to be rescued from oblivion on his own account, and he has found in this monumental work a capable biographer and benevolent critic. The preliminary historical investigations, made in Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, England and America, are duly chronicled in the Preface. The two works of Allison Peers, *Spanish Mysticism* and *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, come in for their meed of praise. The most indefatigable worker, however, was Father Michel-Ange of Narbonne, to whom the author gives full credit for pioneer work. The author himself has given us a standard work, detailed but far from wearisome, scientific in form and method but not pedantic, well documented without becoming dry or redundant, especially valuable because he replaces his subject in the historical setting of that golden age of Spanish literature which produced the great mystics in spite of, partly because of, the widespread corruption in Church and State — that age which witnessed the beginnings of the Protestant Revolt and even the beginnings of the Catholic Counter-reform with its remoter roots in the same volcanic soil of Spain where Francisco de Osuna then lived and labored.

Osuna was of humble origin, born about the time when the Moors of Spain were definitely vanquished and when a new continent was discovered by Columbus. He lived during the first excitements created by the Reformers and died about 1540. He belonged to the Franciscans of the strict observance and, as a young friar, was somewhat loosely connected with the first appearance of the *Alumbrados* who came to grief for the first time between 1524 and 1532 at the hand of the Spanish Inquisition. Around the latter date Osuna obtained the office of Commissary General for the Franciscan missions in America. But soon again he was busy with his publications. He was engaged in this work for some four years (1532-1536), in France and in the Spanish Netherlands. From Antwerp he made a pilgrimage to Aachen and Cologne. During these years he had plenty of

opportunity of seeing the Reformation at work, and his sermons and other spiritual writings, especially his six "Spiritual Alphabets", do not fail to allude to these contemporaneous events. It would be a fine thing for those historians who see the source of all the ills that have come upon mankind during the last 400 years in the Protestant Reformation and not in the seven capital sins, one of which is covetousness, to read what Osuna as an eye-witness has to say on the growing capitalism of Catholic Antwerp and among the subjects of His Most Catholic Majesty, and on the disastrous effect it had on certain industries in his beloved Spain. But all this is incidental. The great merit of Osuna is his spirituality, subsidiary to this his bonhomie and his fearless frankness. He is, by the way, an apostle of frequent communion in an age when that was considered almost verging on heresy, a merit which obtained for him the misfortune of having that particular book of his put on the Spanish Index of 1559. The work under review is to be highly recommended.

A. Bellwald, S.M.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*A History of Argentina.* By Ricardo Levene. Translated and Edited by William Spence Robertson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 565. $4.00.)

At the Pan-American Congress in Panama (1926) the suggestion was made that there be published in the United States a series of volumes treating the history of the Hispanic American countries—not works originating in the United States but translations of works written by Hispanic Americans and preferably by citizens of the respective countries. The proposal was approved unanimously and the University of North Carolina Press gladly undertook the task of publication. Obviously, the problem to be solved in executing such a project is twofold: The books to be translated must be carefully selected both for sound scholarship and as presenting the national history as seen by writers who are themselves a part of the culture whose evolution they depict, while on the other hand each translator must be adequately equipped with erudition and must be at home in at least two languages. The published list of future volumes as well as the book under review show that both considerations have been borne in mind. Dr. Robertson of the University of Illinois is one of our leaders in this field, and the selection of Dr. Mecham for Arguedas' *Historia General de Bolivia* and of Dr. Rippey for the *Historia de Colombia* of Henao and Arrubla guarantees the quality of the series.

Levene's *Lecciones de Historia Argentina* has been favorably regarded ever since its publication about ten years ago. True, it labors under some defects. In places the narrative is confused and perhaps overladen with details, some statements (e.g., that the Jesuits in Paraguay incited the

Indians to revolt) require alteration in the light of more recent study, and not enough attention is bestowed upon such matters as domestic habits, clothing, food and the like, points which historians of the present day recognize as important—far more important than many a battle or many a dictator or caudillo. In addition, the purely cultural history of Argentina, though by no means neglected by Dr. Levene, is entitled to more treatment than he has given it. The student of Hispanic American music, a subject which is attracting more and more attention these days, will hardly be contented with what he reads about it here. The estimate of the Paraguay missions (pp. 50-51) is not the unanimous verdict of historians. To the reasons given for the Portuguese claim to Brazil (pp. 73-74) may be added that possibly the Portuguese knew of that region and visited it before Columbus sailed in 1492.

The translation is good but it would be better if it were more idiomatic. Frequently the reader feels that it is a translation. Accuracy does not always demand literalness—in fact, there are times when "to translate is to mistranslate" and a paraphrase is required in the interest of truth. The liturgist will be puzzled by the reference to the pallium on p. 53. Only an archbishop wears a pallium and Buenos Aires did not become a metropolitan see until 1865, more than a century later than the incident narrated in that passage. Moreover, a pallium has no rods. The translator seems to have overlooked the fact that the Spanish "palio" means "canopy" as well as "pallium". In the matter of editing he has confined himself to such alterations and explanations as are justified and they are conscientiously indicated.

All in all, this is an excellent beginning for the "Inter-American Historical Series" and our highest hope can only be that that series shall maintain the standard set by the first volume. We also hope that the death of Professor Shepherd, who was to have done the Historical Atlas in the series, will not cause that part of the project to be long delayed.

EDWIN RYAN.

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*Santa Anna.* By WILFRID HARDY CALLCOTT. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1936. Pp. 391. $3.00.)

In a foreword to this magnificent biography the author reminds us that "to write a definitive biography of Antonio López de Santa Anna in one volume is an impossbility, for that would involve little less than a political and military history of Mexico for more than half a century following 1810" (p. xiii). Nevertheless, this is easily the finest biography that has yet appeared in English on Mexico's most famous dictator of the 19th century, and quite probably it is the most scholarly study so far published

in any language on Santa Anna. The excellence of the book rests upon such things as the author's exhaustive research, painstaking care, and thorough understanding of his material and of the difficult conditions prevailing in Mexico during Santa Anna's time.

Dr. Callcott discusses the life of the stormy Santa Anna with an impartiality as complete as can be found or expected, something which not one of the general's contemporaries was able to do, because of the nature of the character of "His Most Serene Highness." Yet this absence of prejudice certainly does not render the work colorless or boring, for the presentation is always interesting. Any good narration of Santa Anna's life is bound to be lively, rather swift-moving and exciting, often bizarre and strange, at times even incredible. Irony, sarcasm and humor also appear at frequent intervals in any discussion of Santa Anna, and this book is no exception. However, it gives him credit generously wherever any is due, just as it censures him whenever his actions call for it.

It is clearly pointed out that, during his first journey to Texas as a cadet in the royal forces in 1811, Santa Anna received the very training which most accentuated his faults and started him on a very lengthy career which was to be anything but a happy one in so far as his country was concerned. Stress is likewise given the fact that in this first trip to Texas the young cadet formed two judgments which 25 years later were to contribute heavily to his greatest disaster, that at San Jacinto. These costly opinions were that the only way to handle Texas rebels was to terrorize them and that the Texans were poor fighters and no match for Mexican troops. The author calls it to our attention that Santa Anna's future record is not so surprising when we consider that by 1820 "he was a man trained in a ruthless and brutal school where fear was the chief taskmaster, where morality and ethics were largely unknown, and where the end was held to justify the means" (p. 17).

Dr. Callcott successfully carries out his announced intention of presenting a balanced picture of the times in which the hectic career of Santa Anna unfolded itself. It may be questioned, however, if he has been able to convince us that, as he states in his sub-title, Santa Anna was "an enigma who once was Mexico." He himself says (p. 315) that "with or without him, his country would have gone through a stormy period," and (p. 314) that Santa Anna "symbolized military ambition," thus admitting that the dictator himself was not Mexico but merely the most notorious representative of a system which overwhelmed Mexico, a system made possible by various factors and conditions which asserted themselves throughout the country after 1821.

One of the things which most impresses the reader of this or of any other biography of Santa Anna is that this amazing personage was able to acquire such great fame as a military leader and such tremendous power as a politician despite the fact that practically never did he achieve a real

victory in the field of battle. The answer to this apparent paradox lies in his fascinating personality, his unusual skill in matters of intrigue, his knack of launching inflammatory proclamations twisted mightly in his favor, and an almost unerring sense of the dramatic which permitted him to capitalize any and every opportunity.

The table of contents very interestingly divides the career of Santa Anna into five parts corresponding to the divisions of the day: Daybreak, Morning, Afternoon, Dusk, Dark. The comparison is surprisingly fitting. Other novel features of the book are a most useful Table of Dates and a list giving the *Dramatis Personae* of each of the five general sections. A highly valuable bibliography and a very complete index are also included. There are a number of errata, though included among them we find, for example, the year 1882 given in place of 1822 (p. 34 and p. 37) and the date of Iturbide's abdication as February 19, 1823, instead of March 19, (p. 47).

In conclusion, we must say that Dr. Callcott richly deserves our appreciation for the splendid job he has done in presenting to the American public the first outstanding biography of this man who, according to the noted Mexican historian Alamán, was "one of the most remarkable characters which the American revolutions have presented" and of whom Dr. Callcott says (p. 315) "the Almighty, in his wisdom, had seen fit to bless . . . with a marvellous personality, tremendous energy and a facile brain, but, for some inscrutable reason, had omitted the balance wheel and left him an opportunist."

WALTER M. LANGFORD.

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*South American Dictators during the First Century of Independence.* Edited by A. CURTIS WILGUS. (Washington: The George Washington University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 502. $3.00.)

Herewith the Center of Inter-American Studies, functioning under the auspices of The George Washington University, presents the fifth and last volume of its "Studies in Hispanic American Affairs." The volume contains in twenty-three chapters the lectures delivered at the Fifth Seminar Conference which the University conducted during the summer session of 1936. These lectures represent in condensation the fruits of long and serious researches by experts whose opinions on controverted points may not be disregarded, though one may not always be ready to accept them as final. Herein lies a special value in a volume of this kind.

During the first century of independence in South America, according to this volume, thirty-one so-called dictators gained sufficient prominence in the Spanish-speaking political arena of their respective country to deserve distinct treatment in this series of lectures. They are arranged geographically under three heads; viz., (1) Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay

and Chile which total twelve dictators; (2) Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador where eight dictators appeared; (3) Colombia and Venezuela, whose destiny was in the hands of eleven dictators. The twenty-third and final chapter is devoted to the former Portuguese colony, under the title "Constitutional Dictatorship in Brazil." Three introductory chapters treat more or less general matters pertaining to the story that follows, while an Appendix discussing "Juan Manuel de Rosas and the Church" concludes the volume.

The editing of the volume and its general makeup leave nothing to be desired in point of uniformity and neatness, and the Index manifests zeal and thoroughness to a marked degree. For these two features Drs. Wilgus and d'Eça, as in the earlier volumes of the series, merit praise and commendation. All of the chapters are heavily documented and in some cases where controverted matters come up for discussion both sides are either presented or referred to in the footnotes, offering bibliography for both sides.

From the mass of interesting material for study, condensed into these five hundred pages, the reviewer selects two for brief notice. Under the title "Monarchy or Republic?" Dr. J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago discusses the question whether, on gaining their independence, it would have been better for the ex-colonies of Spain to establish monarchies instead of republics. Whatever opinion one may adopt, the distinguished historian certainly strikes the keynote of the entire volume when he writes: "All Hispanic America was destined to be a land of ostensible democratic republics and of actual anarchy alternating with dictatorships" (p. 15). And he is correct in holding: "Somebody [throughout the first century of independence in Hispanic America] was constantly having to 'save' these countries, although it was not always clear from what calamity they were to be rescued or what benefits their alleged salvation brought" (p. 19). Might not this latter statement be applied also to the period immediately preceding the rebellion of the colonies against Spain? And would not perhaps a constitutional monarchy have brought to the Spanish colonists the same benefits that it brought to the Portuguese colonists in Brazil? In the case of the former, of course, it must remain a matter of conjecture and opinion; but in the case of the latter, I think, it is a matter of record and fact.

The career of few so-called dictators in the Hispanic American republics has suffered more at the hands of posterity than that of Juan Manuel de Rosas, designated in the present volume as the "Greatest of Argentine Dictators." This is owing for the most part to the fact that, as Dr. Lewis W. Bealer points out, Rosas "has had the misfortune to be presented to posterity mainly through the writings of his enemies" (p. 105). Whatever opinion one may wish to adopt regarding his political ideals and methods, it can hardly be denied that he paved the way for the com-

parative prosperity that Argentina enjoyed after his overthrow and flight to England. As to the principles that guided him in his relations with the Church, Dr. Almon R. Wright justly regards it as "a tribute to Rosas' political acumen that during the more than twenty years of his rule he did not, as some modern dictators, violate the powerful religious sentiments of his people" (p. 488). Whatever his faults of character and abuses of power, Rosas had the welfare of the people sincerely at heart and deemed it advisable even as a political measure to promote their welfare by providing for and protecting their religious needs and rights as citizens of a democratic government.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*Francisco Franco* by JOAQUIN ARRARAS. Translated by J. Manuel Espinosa, Ph.D. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. x, 210.)

Although in no sense an adequate biography of the military genius who perhaps more than anyone else has saved Spain from anarchy—and incidentally has accorded the entire civilized world a service too enormous to be sufficiently appreciated just now—this book, nevertheless, makes a welcome appearance at the present time. Leftist propaganda of all sorts has convinced an alarmingly large number of otherwise intelligent Americans that Generalissimo Franco is a Fascist monster, responsible for atrocities which match in exaggeration and absurdity those of the World War. It is deplorable that even Catholics, for one reason or another, have made themselves ridiculous by accepting as true these vicious tales. It is hoped that the present work will do much to offset this propaganda which has succeeded only too well in splitting Catholic opinion of him who will rank as one of the great Crusaders of the Church.

Written in an interesting journalistic style by an author of repute, it has lost little in translation. It gives in outline Franco's life-story up to his acceptance of the full command of the army and the people loyal to the real Spain. Access to unpublished official and private documents, as well as minute details of important conversations and happenings secured from authoritative sources, render this work of special value to one interested in something more than just another book on Spain. It is notable that where the author mentions atrocities he cites almost exclusively from the Communist press.

It is to be deplored that there is no index. Likewise is it regrettable that the picture of General Franco which appears on the cover was not also inserted in the book.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*The Irish Volunteers and Catholic Emancipation (1778–1793). A neglected phase of Ireland's History.* By Rev. Patrick Rogers, M.A., D.Litt., with an Introduction by Professor Eoin MacNeill, D.Litt., University College, Dublin. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1934. Pp. 345. 12s. 6d.)

The first half of the eighteenth century is admittedly the darkest and dreariest period in the whole course of Ireland's history. The melancholy chronicle of the times is little more than a stark record of parliamentary (Irish and British) misrule, of legalized injustice and oppression by which the nation, or at least the Catholic body which formed the vast majority of the nation, was committed legally to a state of hopeless degradation, and forced to eke out through recurrent periods of famine and starvation an existence "more miserable than that of Negro slaves on a West Indian plantation." The comparison is that made by contemporary English travelers in Ireland, such as Pococke, Twiss, and Young. The period leaves practically a blank page in Irish history. So effectively manacled and muzzled was the nation as to be rendered for the time being inarticulate. By contrast the history of the second half of the century is comparatively bright, brisk, and refreshing. The nation was gradually emerging from the long serfdom of the penal days. It is this period that falls within the scope of *The Irish Volunteers and Catholic Emancipation*, specifically the years between 1760 and 1793. Not till 1778-9 was the Volunteer movement inaugurated, but a long and interesting introductory chapter (56 pp.) covering the years 1760-1780, headed "The Volunteers' Background", is devoted to an account of the Catholic situation when the movement started, of the attitude of the Protestant Ascendency to the Catholic body, and of the Volunteers' entrance into the political arena. The Irish Volunteer body was a national militia, or citizen military force, organized for purposes of national defense, when about 1778 it became necessary to protect the Irish coasts and shipping from the audacious and persistent attacks of French and American privateers, and the depleted resources of the British forces were unable to guarantee adequate security. Almost from the beginning the varied activity of the Volunteers affected every department of Irish national life, civil as well as military, social, commercial, political, and religious. At first Catholics, a class disfranchised, discredited, distrusted, and disowned, were not received into the ranks of the Volunteers; but gradually the liberal spirit engendered and fostered by the movement broke down sectarian prejudice and animosity, and in time Catholics were admitted on equal terms with their more legally privileged non-Catholic fellow-countrymen, participating even to the extent of recruiting distinctively Catholic Volunteer Corps. By degrees the dark cloud of religious bigotry began to dissolve and the glimmering of a new dawn seemed to herald the advent of a brighter day for the distressed and disheartened Catholics of Ireland.

Although the author concentrates his attention on one particular phase of the Volunteer movement, viz., its contribution to the liberation of the Catholic body from unjust disabilities and intolerable oppression, his book contains the most comprehensive, complete, consistent, and authentic account so far published of the Irish Volunteer movement. The story is fully documented from original sources and contemporary published accounts, and is extremely well told. Moreover, since the Volunteer movement in its various ramifications and activities influenced every aspect of contemporary Irish life, we have in these pages, besides a definite and definitive story of the Volunteers, a very good general history of Ireland for the period the narrative deals with. In the eight chapters comprising the book we find no aspect of contemporary national life worth commemorating left unnoticed, no broad historical question left unexplored, no notable character passed by, or significant event left unrecorded. Such distinctive questions of Irish history as the following are accorded adequate treatment: the character of the native parliament, its relations to the English Parliament, the question of Irish parliamentary reform, the policy of the Protestant Ascendancy, the fight for free trade, the winning of Legislative independence, Grattan's Parliament, the projected alliance between Catholics and Dissenters, the origin and rise of the United Irishmen, the work of the Catholic Committee, the Relief Acts of 1771-1792, the manoeuvering resorted to for effecting the notorious Act of Union.

Many readers who have derived intellectual pleasure and profit from this volume will conceive the hope that Dr. Rogers will follow it up by another giving the later history of the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, and incidentally the history of Ireland for the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There is a very complex index, and a bibliography in which five original manuscript sources and thirty-six contemporary published works are listed. It may be remarked that although it disencumbers the page, it does not facilitate consultation of the notes to have them relegated to the end of the book.

JAMES VEALE.

*Mount St. Mary's College,*
*Emmitsburg, Md.*

*The Separation of Church and State in Italian Thought from Cavour to Mussolini.* By S. WILLIAM HALPERIN. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 115. $2.00.)

This monograph is concerned with the formula of Cavour, "a free church in a free state", with its various interpretations and reactions. The greater part of the thought is drawn from political leaders largely anti-clerical. Numerous quotations render it clear that many who nominally advocated separation really wanted a subservient Church in an all-embracing State. Little space is given to the thought of the popes and

their associates in the government of the Church. No explanation is given of the position or attitude of the popes, though they are referred to repeatedly as "intransigent". It is unjustifiable to assume that the American reader knows just what the attitude of the popes and of informed Catholics generally was and is regarding this question.

Considerable space is given to the "law of papal guarantees" which was enacted" to pacify the Catholic world and placate the Vatican . . . to protect the spiritual freedom of the dispossessed pontiff and to emancipate the Italian church from all interference by the state." This measure remained "the charter of Italian ecclesiastical liberties until the conclusion of the Lateran accords of 1929." The reasons why the provisions of this law were unacceptable to the popes, the causes of their "intransigent" attitude, are not made clear. Surely this matter belongs to the thought of the period on this question. The acceptable solution of the problem by treaty, "a strictly bilateral pact", is disposed of in a few words with no indication that such a treaty was necessary in the thought of the popes to safeguard their independence in spiritual matters.

The last chapter, while representing the motive of Mussolini as entirely political in negotiating the Lateran treaty, tends to leave the erroneous impression that there is something particularly congenial between Catholicism as a religion and Fascism as a form of government. In reality the Catholic attitude is that the form of government makes little difference so long as the Church is free to carry out her mission, and this divinely appointed mission "to teach all nations" does not depend upon the will of any state.

The principal criticism of the book is that insufficient space is given to the religious side of the question to make clear the Catholic position, namely, that the question of the papacy and the State in Italy is unique in that the pope as head of a universal Church must have his freedom of action safeguarded by being independent of the control of the state. In the relations between Church and State in Italy or elsewhere, coöperation not antagonism is desirable; and the freedom of the Church to fulfill her mission is essential. These points properly belong to the thought of the period regarding separation of Church and State.

SISTER LORETTA CLARE.

*College of Mount St. Joseph,*
*Mount St. Joseph, Ohio.*

*Albert Gallatin Brown: Radical Southern Nationalist.* By JAMES BYRNE RANCK. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. xiv, 320. $5.00.)

This historical study of Mississippi's leader of the Radical Southern Nationalists by Dr. Ranck, professor of history at Hood College, published from a fund contributed to the American Historical Associaton by the

Carnegie Corporation of New York, might have been suspected as a source book for *Gone With the Wind* if it had appeared a couple of years earlier.

Albert Gallatin Brown was born in the Chester District of South Carolina in 1813. His father, a poor farmer, brought the family to Mississippi when the future Senator was ten. His collegiate hopes curtailed by poverty, Brown studied law, hung out his shingle at the age of twenty-one, two years after he had been elected colonel of militia, and quickly acquired prestige as a political leader. Casting his lot with the poorer classes, he held elective office for thirty-three consecutive years, as member of the Legislature, Representative in Congress, Governor, United States Senator and Senator of the Confederate States, without a single defeat, a record achieved in large measure by leading the piney-woods majority wherever it wanted to go.

Brown's great adversary in Mississippi was Jefferson Davis, whom Brown had appointed to the United States Senate in 1847. Three years later, Brown was heading the radical wing of the Democratic party in the state, while the aristocratic Davis led the conservatives; the eve of secession found them engaged in bitter debate on the Senate floor in these capacities.

Brown repeatedly described slavery as "a great moral, social, political and religious blessing—a blessing to the slave and to the master", and denounced those in the South who regarded it as a necessary evil. Slavery, he told his piney-woods disciples, placed the wives and daughters of mechanics and laboring men on the same plane as the wives and daughters of governors and judges because the slaves did all the menial work; thus he crystallized the sentiment of the poor whites against the abolitionists and made them more radical than the slave owners, who deprecated any unnecessary excitement on the slavery question.

Brown was one of the earliest of disunionists; when it was evident that he was a step ahead of even his faction of the party, he temporarily retreated, but no man in his state and few in the South were more responsible for the establishment of the Confederacy a decade later. Yet Brown was an advocate of the interests of the South as a whole rather than of the individual states. During the war, as a Senator at Richmond, he supported Davis, and after the war he retired to Jackson, urged submission to the Federal Government on the "conquered province" theory, and refused further public office. Demagogue though he was, he refused to trade with the Know-Nothings. When objectors to the Homestead Bill of Andrew Johnson asserted that it benefited foreigners who had no sympathy with slavery and that most of them were Catholics, he asserted: "It is no part of my Protestant faith to fear the Catholics."

Dr. Ranck's work is an illuminating contribution to the literature of the background of what the South still calls "the War between the States." It gives evidence of exhaustive and able research; it brings us such significant and little known information, for instance, as the fact that the

Mississippi Democratic Convention of 1851, despite Brown's attitude, by a vote of seventy-three to seventeen reasserted the position of 1834 that the right of secession was "utterly unsanctioned by the Federal Constitution . . . and that no secession can in fact take place without a subversion of the Union established, and which will not virtually amount in its effects and consequences to a civil revolution." It was then that Brown trimmed his sails temporarily, pending the stirring of stronger sectional breezes.

RICHARD REID.

*Augusta, Ga.*

*The Church Founders of the Northwest.* By M. M. HOFFMAN. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co. 1937. Pp. viii, 387.)

This is a factual narrative of ecclesiastical beginnings in the states contiguous to the upper Mississippi valley. The author's purpose is not only to relate the labors of Bishops Loras and Cretin, the first occupants of the Sees of Dubuque and St. Paul respectively, but to "lift the veil of oblivion which has been allowed to settle over the historical beginnings of the Church in the Northwest" (p. vii). The years covered extend from 1792 to 1858—from the birth of Loras in Lyons, France, to his death in Dubuque. The reader is carried over the scenes of the French Revolution which brought martyrdom to the head of the Loras family, through the youth of Mathias Loras, the first years of his priestly career, his connections with the future Curé of Ars, the influence of Loras the teacher on one of his students, Joseph Cretin, the departure of Loras for missionary fields in Alabama (1829), his nomination to the new See of Dubuque (July 27, 1837), his success in persuading Father Cretin to leave France for the wilderness that had been named a diocese (1838), where the two worked side by side until Father Cretin was named the first bishop of St. Paul (1850), and finally the noble zeal of the two as they struggled to plant the Faith in vast areas and to christianize the Indians. Bishop Cretin died in 1857.

Consistent with his purpose, Father Hoffmann describes the travels of missionaries who paddled the Mississippi long years before Loras touched Iowa soil with the crozier. And even after the establishment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction these individual missionaries are not kept in the background but occupy the stage along with the two staunch bishops. The deep spirituality of the bishops shines brightly in contrast to that of some of the missionaries. But we also see priestly souls who edify their superiors by their heroic deeds. Likewise, the relations of ecclesiastics with the men of their day are set down by Father Hoffmann. He shows himself capable of bringing wide information to bear upon what others might consider an isolated fact. Hence, European policies, statesmen of the young republic, Indian affairs, conflicts of nationalities, religious bigotries and the noble

sacrifices of clergy and laity alike are merged in a panoramic picture of the times. Alleman, Belcourt, Galtier, Laurent, Mazzuchelli, Pierz, Pelamourgues, Ravoux, Trecy, Van Quickenborne and Weninger are some of the names of missionaries who retain historical interest for the Catholic. Likewise, Senators Dodge and Jones, Mr. Quigley of Dubuque and Mr. Le Clair of Davenport are names held in honor.

Father Hoffmann has written no dry diocesan chronicle. While showing himself conversant with the best methods of modern historical technique, he captures the interest of the reader. He presents an accurate account of Europe's generous financial support of the American missions. From the point of view of frankness and for reliance on original sources the author sets a mark for other diocesan historians. He avoids the usual laudations; he does not avoid the touchy question of national jealousies, neither does he enlarge upon them. On some points he leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. The Hennepin problem is not yet solved. The author mentions him, but the name, by a slip, was left out of the index. As a whole the work has a wider scope than most diocesan histories and as such proves a valuable source book.

The title of the book may cause some confusion. "Northwest" might suggest to some observers the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho or Montana, yet the Dakotas constitute really the western limit of the volume. The proofreading was exceptionally well done. On p. 122, the last sentence of the second paragraph is evidently a mistake. What the reader misses is a final estimate of the characters of Loras and Cretin. The author may have had a purpose in not giving more of his reasoned judgment on these men. He leaves no doubt of the unselfish zeal of the two, of the far-seeing plans of Loras, and of the force of his character when put to the test (p. 318). However, the reactions of men to the sturdy French apostle might have been more clearly drawn. The author of this work is better equipped with facts than was Archbishop Ireland, who wrote sketches of Loras and Cretin, but the sentences of the historian of Dubuque lack the glow of the orator of St. Paul. Father Hoffman could, therefore, have added more touches to his portraits of Loras and Cretin to round out his reliable presentation of facts.

WILLIAM RUSSELL.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*The Sod-House Frontier, 1854–1890.* By EVERETT DICK, PH.D. (New York: D. Appleton–Century Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 550.)

The Sod-House Frontier is a location as well as a period in westward expansion. It is that formerly almost treeless expanse of land west of the Missouri river which early explorers like Pike, Long and Fremont reported as uninhabitable. The belief prevailed generally before 1854 that this

section of the West would never attract the white settler. Congress and the nation at large thought that the "American Desert" would be a permanent solution of the Indian problem. But the struggle for balance of power between the North and the South and, particularly, the agitation for a trans-continental railroad enhanced the value of the western half of the Missouri river valley and it became the Sod-House Frontier. In that practically treeless domain the early settlers imitated the Indians whom they had displaced by using in lieu of logs the prairie for houses. Something very distinctive resulted. The Sod-House Frontier, in every aspect of its social life, was more at variance with the frontier Charles Beard knew in Indiana than the latter was unlike its predecessors.

This volume by Doctor Dick is packed with human interest, chiefly with stories gleaned from newspapers, biographies, autobiographies, diaries, reminiscences and monographs, all of which will delight the social historian. The writer of regional literature also will find it an invaluable handbook. It radiates the spirit of the trans-Missouri frontier. As the author states in the preface, it gives a view of the everyday life of the pioneers; and it does this in a style that makes for every interesting reading.

The extent of the field covered, Kansas and Nebraska, North and South Dakota, precludes necessarily a complete picture of any one territory. While the research which produced this volume was extensive, it would be asking too much to look for perfect data on any topic; for example, the chapter entitled "Preëmption Days" gives much local color but cannot be used for details of land transfer or for the operation of the land offices. It is a question whether "Log-Cabin Days" can be applied to any part of the Sod-House Frontier! Certainly that chapter heading is a misnomer in Nebraska history. There is no attempt at chronological sequence and little synthesis. In the chapter, "Church and the Frontier", the Catholic Church is barely named. Yet this religious force played an important part on the Sod-House Frontier, especially in Kansas where the Jesuits labored from pre-territorial days and where a bishop has been in residence since 1851. It should be pointed out, also, that Nebraska's first building for religious worship was a Catholic Church.

For a general social history of the Sod-House Frontier, particularly of Kansas and Nebraska, with the exceptions noted, this book is heartily recommended.

SISTER M. AQUINATA MARTIN, O.P.

*St. Agnes College, Memphis, Tenn.*

*George Washington's Associations with the Irish.* By MICHAEL J. O'BRIEN. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1937. Pp. xiv, 271. $2.50.)

*Hercules Mulligan: Confidential Correspondent of General Washington.* By MICHAEL J. O'BRIEN. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1937. Pp. 190. $2.50.)

The first is an interesting presentation and fully justifies its title. The chapter headings are enticing and the texts fulfil their lure. An enormous amount of time and energy were needed to accumulate the material here set forth, and Mr. O'Brien is to be heartily thanked as well as congratulated on the result, for it is a book that every Irishman should be glad to own. It will answer many a question which an Irishman will be proud, through this book, to answer, and it furnishes food for thought of an inspiring kind. The chapter on the "Irish Washingtons" and on "Shipping between Ireland and America" are interesting and distinct contributions. One may quibble over the title of Chapter I: "Falsities of History", as it is historians and not history which are at fault. Refutation of an hopelessly ignorant statement in Madison Grant's recent *Conquest of a Continent* seems to be Mr. O'Brien's main purpose; but there are few more useless expenditures of energy than the machine-gunning of flies. The large amount of valuable data in *George Washington's Association with the Irish*, however, bears marks of being too hastily put together, and the titles at least, of the valuable appendices should have appeared in the index. Nevertheless, the book is a good one, and completely justifies itself.

The same cannot be said, unfortunately, of *Hercules Mulligan*, which is a rather dull treatment of a character, undoubtedly picturesque, though he does not merit at all the unqualified distincton of being "Confidential Correspondent of General Washington". The author does his thesis harm by making this claim. The argument (not evidence) is rather plausibly presented to convince the uncritical reader that Hercules has been strangely ignored by historians (pp. 146-149); but though Mr. O'Brien may be convinced, his book will not convert many to his way of thinking. Beyond the point of ready agreement that Hercules Mulligan was a worthy citizen and an interesting character it is difficult to progress. Again Mr. O'Brien has been indefatigable in collecting data concerning Hercules and the later Mulligans: good, respectable citizens all of them, with never a thing in their records of which they need be ashamed; where there are errors, or slips, they are those of an over-enthusiastic O'Brien, and not those of unworthy or unpatriotic Mulligans. The weak spots in the book are the interpretations and inferences. Much is made of Hercules Mulligan's "Narrative" (facsimiled); but even that narrative makes no mention of Hercules' alleged activities as a confidential correspondent of General Washington. The claim boils down to the unsupported assertions of Justice George Shea and John C. Hamilton; but these authors cite no author-

ity for their unauthorized statements. There are no letters in the Washington manuscripts, in the Library of Congress, either from or to Hercules Mulligan, nor a mention of his name in the military records of that collection, though the names (initials, or aliases) of a goodly number of spies do occur therein. The author's attempt to identify Mulligan as the spy, in New York, who was "one of the first characters in the City" (p. 95) shows how inadvisable are hasty conclusions in historical matters. This spy has been positively identified by Pennypacker, as the merchant, Robert Townsend. Other instances of the author's lack of caution are the reckless statements that Mulligan conveyed to Washington the information of Sir Henry Clinton's intended expedition against the French, in Rhode Island, in July, 1780 (Chap. 9); and that he informed him of the British intention to attempt the capture of Washington on his journey to Newport, for a conference with Rochambeau, in February, 1781. The Washington manuscripts disclose that intelligence of the intended expedition against the French was sent to Washington, from New Jersey, by John Mercereau; and also from Long Island, by Woodhull. The projected capture of the Commander-in-Chief was divulged by John Adam, an American deputy commissary of prisoners, stationed at Elizabeth-town, New Jersey.

JOHN C. FITZPATRICK.

*Library of Congress.*

*Life and Work of Mother Benedicta Bauer.* By SISTER MARY HORTENSE KOHLER, O.P. Translator of Documents, Sister Mary Fulgence Frantz, O.P. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co. 1937. Pp. xix, 365.)

Mother Benedicta was a native of Bavaria. From her early youth she had heard of the American missions. When she entered the Dominican Convent of the Holy Cross at Ratisbon in 1820, she had associated herself with a community that thirty-three years later was to send four of its members to America. Mother Benedicta was the prioress at Ratisbon in the year 1853; in 1858 she herself left Germany for the American apostolate. The full story of the Ratisbon Dominicans in the United States is told in this volume. Today twelve independent congregations of Dominicans trace their origin either directly or indirectly to Mother Benedicta; but because she was intimately connected with the Congregation of St. Catherine of Siena at Racine, Wisconsin, this work is in reality a brief history of this particular community. Although Mother Benedicta died in 1865, the narrative is continued down to the year 1880. A subsequent volume, bringing the history of the Racine sisterhood up to date, is promised by the author. An appendix, critical notes, a good bibliography and some interesting illustrations enhance the value of this volume. The index, however, is inadequate.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*Mother Magdalen Daemen and Her Congregation, Sisters of St. Francis of Penance and Christian Charity.* By SISTER M. LIGOURI, O.S.F., A.M. With a Foreword by Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., S.T.D., Ph. D. (Buffalo: Rauch and Stoeckl Printing Co. 1935. Pp. 429.)

Mother Magdalen Daemen was born in Holland in 1787, and there she died in 1858. Destined to contribute her share of good to the adopted land of her community, nevertheless she lived and died without ever having had a contact with America. Her fame in the New World may be discovered in the splendid community which she founded, the Sisters of St. Francis of Penance and Christian Charity. The present book is a history of the Order as well as a biography of Mother Daemen. The final chapters deal particularly with its growth in North America which, since 1928, forms a separate province of the world-wide institute. A complete list of establishments in Europe, Asia and the two Americas, and a set of good references have been provided by the author. The lack of an index is unfortunate and the importance of the work demands a book less amateurish in physical appearance.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*Life of Mother St. Urban of the Congregation of the Sisters of Bon Secours of Paris.* By REV. THOMAS DAVID WILLIAMS. (Baltimore: John Murphy Company. 1936. Pp. 336.)

Lacking altogether are references, an index and other helpful addenda in this book on Mother St. Urban of the Sisters of Bon Secours of Paris. This is undoubtedly the fault of the publishers as well as that of the author. As a matter of fact, the physical appearance of this book is of an inferior quality. The contents, however, are not so disappointing. Despite a constant amount of unnecessary repetition, the story of Mother St. Urban's life moves along smoothly and interestingly. We learn of the little Irish girl in Cork; of her leave-taking from a beloved mother whom she was never to see again to begin her novitiate in Paris; and finally her work in London and Paris, preparatory to her coming to America. It is this last part of her life that interests particularly the student of American history. Although she was not the one who led the Bon Secours to the United States, she was, nevertheless, a member of the original band and in due time became the cornerstone of the American community. The first provincial of the Bon Secours in this country, she became a great power for good in Baltimore, Washington and wherever she established houses of her Sisters. She died in 1933 after fifty years of service to the sick and needy.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

*The Catholic University of America.*

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Very Rev. Samuel Knox Wilson, S.J., Ph.D., president of Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, has accepted the chairmanship of the local arrangements committee for the nineteenth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, to be held at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, December 28–30, 1938. Associated with Dr. Wilson is Paul Kiniery, Ph.D., head of the department of history in Loyola University, who will be secretary of the general committee, and Mr. Mark Guerin, of the university administration staff, who will be assistant-secretary.

The historical profession in America lost an eminent member with the death on January 19 last of Professor William Kenneth Boyd, head of the department of history at Duke University. Dr. Boyd was well known for his writings and activities in the field of Southern history, and stood foremost among the historians interested in this developing field for research. Memorial exercises for Dr. Boyd were held at Duke on April 10. Appreciations of his lovable character and of his contributions to history as teacher, collector, author and promoter of historical studies were offered by W. T. Laprade, Julian P. Boyd, Robert H. Woody and Robert D. W. Connor.

Rev. Adrien G. Morice, O.M.I., author of numerous books on the history of western Canada, died recently at St. Boniface, Canada, at the age of 79. Father Morice had been honored by the French Academy for his four-volume history of the Catholic Church in western Canada.

Montreal's first Catholic Book Fair was held April 8–10. More than 1000 books and pamphlets, as well as a range of other material illustrating Catholic literary achievements, made this initial venture a praiseworthy success.

The United States Catholic Historical Society, at its annual meeting on May 3, elected Percy J. King as its president. Other officers chosen at the same time were: Frederick J. Fuller, vice-president; Charles H. Ridder, treasurer; Dr. Arthur F. J. Remy, recording secretary; Dr. Leo R. Ryan, corresponding secretary; and Miss E. P. Herbermann, executive secretary.

The annual meeting of the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society was held April 1–2 at Columbus in coöperation with the Ohio Academy of History. The success of the program encouraged both organizations to favor proceeding along similar lines next year and inviting similar organizations and agencies to join in a state-wide Ohio History Conference.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its thirty-first annual meeting in Indianapolis, April 28–30. On the surface it was a rather serious gathering of historians from twenty-nine states which called for little in the way of front-page comment. There were, of course, a few good papers in the three-day program. But reporters, for the most part, limited themselves to a listing of names and topics. Typically dry, though obviously of practical importance, were the morning sessions, the luncheon conference and the presidential address, all devoted to the discussion of Government aid to research. Apparently, the Government is generous in financing any and every project that can be properly presented to it, and alert individuals and groups are profiting by the opportunity. Readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW would probably be more interested in the program of the American Society of Church History, which met jointly with the Association. In general, there was much to interest the student of religious factors in our national growth. But as usual the formal program yielded in attraction and value to informal conversation and stimulating contact with historians who are doing serious work.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mediæval Academy of America was held in Chicago on the 29th and 30th of April. All the sessions were well attended. The opening round table discussion on "Criteria for Editing Mediæval Texts" was interesting for the variety of opinions expressed. Professor Edward K. Rand compared the editing of classical texts with the editing of mediæval manuscripts. Professor John M. Manly talked at some length on problems connected with his Chaucerian studies, Professor J. S. P. Tatlock being somewhat anxious to obtain more definite answers to some of his questions. Professor Henry E. Sigerist pointed out the virtual uselessness of all recognized methods of approach to his particular study—the editing of mediæval medical texts. Professor Jacob Hammer described the principles on which he had assigned the known texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* to certain well-defined groups. Others present took part in the discussion also. After the formal complimentary dinner Professor Panofsky gave a scholarly illustrated lecture on "Blind Cupid", tracing the history of the most destructive of gods and showing the symbolism of his subject in mediæval and renaissance art. At the business meeting Professor Sigerist lectured on "Leprosy in the Middle Ages". His presentation of this subject was particularly noteworthy for his theory, evolved apparently after a visit to Molokai, that the disease disappeared in the Middle Ages not by reason of segregation but because of the susceptibility of its victims to secondary infections. Thus the Black Death served as a kind of social purge. Professor A. C. Krey presented an interesting paper on "Mediæval Humanism" in which he put forward a plea for the study of the period that is neglected by mediævalists and moderns alike—the late fifteenth and early sixteenth

centuries. The proceedings closed with a complimentary luncheon tendered by the University of Chicago to members of the Mediæval Academy, an event made notable by a complete absence of speeches of any kind.

The District of Columbia Works Progress Administration reports encouraging results in the Church Records Survey being undertaken by the Administration as a part of the country-wide Historical Records Survey. In the District of Columbia the records of the churches of all denominations and their institutions have already been listed. There are 867 units representing approximately 63 denominations some of whose records date from 1726. The inventory of these records will be published, and will include an historical introduction to each denomination, a brief history of each church, the dates, number, condition and location of these manuscripts, and finally, a bibliography of published sources. The inventory is already being used in draft form by certain interested groups in Washington. The Survey has been of special value in two recent masters' dissertations at the Catholic University of America—Sister M. Xavier, *The Catholic Church in the District of Columbia (1791-1866)*, and Sister M. Loretta, *The Catholic Church in the District of Columbia (1866-1938)*.

A new Ecuadorian publication under the name *Trópico* was issued for the first time in April at Quito. It is an interesting monthly review of art, literature, and history, the organ of the Ecuadorian National Museum and Historical Archives. The magazine is large folio in format, and contains profuse illustrations as well as historical notes. In this first number are two historical articles, both by Rafael E. Silva, " Libro de los Acuerdos de la Real Hacienda de Su Majestad año de 1557 ", and " Cuzco, la Ciudad Venerable ".

On May 27, 1938, Mr. Teixeira Soares, a member of the Brazilian Embassy staff of Washington, D. C., gave a lecture in the Oliveira Lima Library of the Catholic University of America on Brazilian historians. At the close of his entertaining lecture, Mr. Soares expressed the sincere wish " that the Oliveira Lima Library may transform itself very soon into a hive of intensive work directed toward a better knowledge of all the countries on this continent." Among the treasures of the Library, the following transcripts are brought to the attention of Hispanic American students. The oldest set of such copies belongs to the period following the establishment of Portuguese independence after the sixty years of Spanish domination (1580–1640). These documents are in three volumes. a) Those referring to the mission of Tristão de Mendonça in Holland and other countries during the time of John IV and Alphonse VI. Tristão de Mendonça was one of the ablest diplomats of Portugal of the seventeenth century and was the negotiator of the Treaty with Holland when Portugal became independent in 1640. b) Letters of Francisco de Sousa

Coutinho addressed to different persons such as Father Andre Telles, Count of Odemira, Feliciano Dourado, Cardinal Orsino, Count of St. Lourenço, and others. Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, agent of the House of Braganza in Madrid, later became Minister to Sweden, Denmark and Holland and Ambassador to Rome. It is interesting to note that the Catholic University faculty has a representative of this famous family of diplomats in the person of Professor Joaquin de S. Coutinho, associate professor of economics. c) Letters of Count of Ponte (d. 1667), a distinguished officer of the Portuguese Army, became Portuguese Minister to England and in that capacity negotiated the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II. The next set of manuscripts refers to the period of the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht, 1715. These manuscripts are: a) Copy dated 1803 of "Memorias dos successos mais notaveis que accontecerão em Europa . . . desde 1678 ate' a anno de 1689" by Salvador Taborda Portugal, Minister of Portugal to the court of Louis XIV, in seven volumes, Books I–XII, with the exception of Book VI which is missing in this collection. Another volume has Books I to IV, and a third set in two volumes has Books VII, VIII, IX and X, XI, XII. b) Copies of "Cartas a negociações na corte de França (1699–1704) by José da Cunha Brochado, Minister of John V, in two volumes; "Cartas a negociações na corte de Graõ Bretanha" by the same; "Cartas e negociações na corte de Éspanha", by the same; "Manuscriptos de Brochado", copies of letters and notes on England, France and other subjects. José da Cunha Brochado, Minister of Portugal to France (1699–1704) and England (1710–1715), was one of the most accomplished diplomats of his time. c) Original letters of Diego de Mendonça Corte-Real (1658–1736), Secretary of State of Portugal to Count of Assumar (1663–1733), Ambassador (1705–1712?) at the Court of Archduke Charles, pretender to the throne of Spain and later on German Emperor (Vol. I, 1706–1709; Vol. II, 1710–1713). d) Original letters of André de Mello e Castro (1668–1753), Portuguese Ambassador at Rome, to the Count of Assumar (Vol. I, 1710–1711; Vol. II, 1712–1713; Vol. III, 1714–1718). e) Copy of "Memorias de D. Luis da Cunha", Vol. I, a causa da guerra de 1702, Utrecht, 1719; Vols. II, III, IV, Memorias de paz de Utrecht, 1715. f) Original letters of Diego de Mendonça Corte Real (1713–1725) to D. Luis da Cunha. Dom Luis da Cunha (1662–1740), Diego de Mendonça Corte Real, José da Cunha Brochado and Count of Tarouca were distinguished diplomats of Portugal at the time of the Congress of Utrecht. Another very interesting set of copies of manuscripts is the one that refers to the activities of Alexandre de Gusmão, a Brazilian by birth, the negotiator of the famous treaty with Spain in 1750. In the Oliveira Lima Library there are still other documents referring to the Portuguese Court, to Brazil, to India, etc.

In the Vatican relations with Spain, an event of the first importance has taken place in the appointment of Msgr. Gaetano Cicognani, former Nuncio to Vienna, as Nuncio to the Nationalist government of Spain. This definitely raises the Vatican recognition of the Franco régime from that of a *de facto* régime to one *de jure* in the territory under control. The cordiality which already existed between Franco and the Vatican was previously manifested on the occasion of the canonization of three saints, April 17, including Salvador da Horta (b. 1520, Catalonia). To General Franco's message of gratitude, the Pope replied: "Happy to see vibrating in Your Excellency's message the hereditary faith of Catholic Spain, whose crown of saints has been enriched for its better fortunes by a new hero of Christian fortitude, we send from our hearts the apostolic blessing, propitiator of divine favors." To newspaper correspondents who interviewed him at the Budapest Eucharistic Congress, Cardinal Goma y Tomas of Toledo declared himself unalterably opposed to the political and philosophical principles of the totalitarian state and maintained that General Franco, as a devout Catholic, was well informed on the Church's stand in this respect.

*Sources*, the monthly bibliographical publication of Desclée de Brouwer (Paris), has been replaced by a new and expanded monthly pamphlet known as *La Revue des Livres*. The first issue combined the months of January and February; its successors will furnish information on new publications a month at a time.

The *Jahresbericht der Goerres-Gesellschaft 1937*, Cologne, 1938, contains the summary of the proceedings of the 51st general assembly of the society which was held at Osnabrueck, October 4–7, 1937, together with the annual reports of the various sections and institutes of the association. Johannes Spoerl, the successor of the late Philipp Funk, as editor of the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, promises to carry on the traditions of the past editors of the publication. The Roman Institute reports that *Concilium Tridentinum*, vol. XIII, edited by Dr. H. Jedin, is ready for distribution, that vol. VII is in the press, and that Dr. Th. Freundenberger is arranging the material for vol. VI (Bologna Period). The latter volume promises to be extremely important for the history of dogma, containing as it does the history of the most important definitions of the Council of Trent. The section for *Religioese Volkskunde* announces the publication of vol. III of *Volk und Volkstum, Jahrbuch fuer Volkskunde*, Munich, 1938.

The figure of Charlemagne as a German hero suffered considerably with the advent of the Nazis to power. The new German "Weltanschauung" could find no place of honor for the Christian king and emperor, the exterminator of the Saxons, and the unbending foe of the gods and customs of the nordic forbears of the men of the Third Reich. Popular writers

even went so far as to call him a Frenchman. Charles' place was usurped by Widukind, the leader of "the noble Saxons to whose credit it is that they hated the kind of Christianity that was offered to them": (Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des XX. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1934, p. 186). The day in 781, on which Charlemagne ordered the execution of 4500 Saxon followers of Widukind at Verden, was held to have been the saddest day in all German history. To the memory of these 4500 the Third Reich erected an imposing monument at Halsmuehlen, 3 km. north of Verden, composed of 4500 immense glacial boulders collected from all of the "gaus" of Germany whither Saxons had been deported.

This popular reorientation of early German medieval historical values led to active research, pro and contra. Protestant Christians as well as Catholics delved into the sources for evidence to blunt the edge of this sort of anti-Christian propaganda. The most arresting treatment of the story of the "Day of Verden" came from the pen of Karl Bauer, the Protestant Church historian of the University of Muenster, in his "Die Quellen fuer das sog. Blutbad von Verden", *Westfaelische Zeitschrift*, 92, 1936. (Also published separately, Muenster, 1936.) Bauer sifted the evidence carefully and came to the conclusion that the word "decollatio", *i.e.*, beheading, is a copyist's mistake; we should actually read "delocatio" or "desolatio", *i.e.*, transportation. Charles, instead of being a mass murderer, was in reality a colonizer. This thesis, along with other defenses of Charlemagne, is answered by the late Erwin Rundnagel, "Der Tag von Verden", in *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 157, no. 3, p. 437 seq. Rundnagel refuses to accept Bauer's interpretation of the sources. The 4500 defenseless Saxons were actually executed at the orders of Charlemagne, not, however, by public executioners, but honorably, by the great swords of Charles' German soldiers. Charles' action was but an example of the "Furor Teutonicus", a holy anger, similar to that of Cromwell at Drogheda. Charles, like any great man, knew what he wanted (the incorporation of the Saxons within the empire) and he did it, even if thousands had to be offered up to achieve his purpose. The German Charles does, therefore, not need the protection of philological research. He realized that he made a mistake, but that does not jeopardize his Germanic greatness. And so the "Day of Verden" was "not a horrible blood bath, but a day of tragic greatness in German history."

Dr. James F. Kenny, of the Public Archives of Canada, past president of the American Catholic Historical Association, has been appointed a member of the National Battlefields Commission of Canada. This Commission has charge of the national battlefield sites at Quebec.

Two recent studies by Dom Heinrich Suso Brechter should be welcomed by all students of the textual history of the rule of St. Benedict. His "Zum authentischen Titel der Regel des heiligen Benedikt. Beitrag zur

Textkritik und Revision der Textgeschichte" appears in vol. LV (1937) of the *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*. Vol. L (1938) of the *Revue Bénédictine*, nos. 1 and 2, publishes his researches on the "Versus Simplicii Casinensis Abbatis", the short poem found at the beginning of many of the manuscripts of the Holy Rule, which has played an important rôle in tracing the provenance of the document.

In vol. LVI (1938) of *Downside Review*, Dom Hugh Connolly published an English translation of the lengthy Deed or Instrument of Foundation of Philip Cavarel, Abbot of St. Vedast, Arras, for the English College at Douai and the Letter of Acceptance of the English monks. The Deed is an important source for the internal organization of the liturgical and intellectual life of an early seventeenth-century Benedictine house.

Vol. L of the *Revue Bénédictine*, nos. 1 and 2 (1938) contains, in addition to the documents listed below, A. C. Lawson's summary of his study of "The sources of the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* of S. Isidore of Seville"; W. Levison's interpretation of four of the notes made by a stylus on the manuscript of the Calendar of St. Willibrord; L. Wallach's summary of the studies that he has made preparatory to a new edition of the Chronicle of Berthold of Zwiefalten.

Abbé Maurice Chaume's two articles, "Le mode de constitution et de délimitation des paroisses rurales aux temps mérovingiens et carolingiens", *Revue Mabillon*, vols. XXVII and XXVIII (1937–38), present documentary evidence on the organization of the rural church in early medieval France in the dioceses of Mâcon, Sens, Vienne, Langres, and Lyons. A map of the Carolingian parishes of Sologny and Milly in the diocese of Mâcon accompanies the articles.

Rev. Joseph F. Thorning, Ph.D., S.T.D., professor of sociology and social history in Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., has recently published (Paulist Press, New York City) *A Primer of Social Justice* (pp. 55), to which His Excellency, the Most Rev. Michael J. Curley, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore, has furnished a Foreword, in which he says: "It is profoundly practical. It . . . states socially the teaching of the Church with succinctness and point."

Brochure No. 1 of the Social Reconstruction Series being published by the Central Bureau Press of St. Louis, Mo., is *The Reformation of Institutions* by Rev. Joseph F. MacDonnell, S.J., professor of ethics and sociology at Weston College, Weston, Mass. It is a clear exposition of the encyclical "On Reforming the Social Order."

Raymond B. Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, writes on "The Emerging Social Sciences" and "The Social Sciences in 1937" in *The Rockefeller Foundation. A Review for 1937* (New York, 1938).

The *Nouvelle Revue Française* has added to its Bibliothèque des Idées Raymond Aron's *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire. Essai sur les limites de l'objectivité historique.*

The French schools at Athens and Rome have added to their joint collection of publications H. I. Marrou's *Saint-Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (636 pp.). It is essentially a study of the intellectual culture of St. Augustine.

On June 3, President Manuel Quezon vetoed the Religious Instruction Bill, which would make it compulsory for state schools to provide hours and facilities for religious instruction. The Bill did not propose to make such instruction mandatory, but undoubtedly it would become universal, with state support. Under the Philippine Constitution, a strict separation of Church and State is maintained; but according to an official statement, "the Bill attempts essentially to change the policy laid down in the existing law, which has been raised to the category of a permanent national policy . . . which can be altered only through amendment of the Constitution itself." Catholics have urged the passage of the Bill and have regarded Quezon's proposal to introduce courses on character-building into the schools as an unsatisfactory compromise.

*The Modern Schoolman* for May contains a symposium on "Great Scholastic Thinkers". It includes five articles: on St. Augustine by André Brémond, on St. Anselm by Thomas J. Motherway, on St. Bonaventure by Hunter Guthrie, on Albert the Great by Jerome Lemmer, and on Thomas Aquinas by Blaise Bonayer.

Publication no. 13 of the Social Action Series of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference is *Why the Guilds Decayed* by Henry Somerville. Mr. Somerville maintains that decay in the guild system was due primarily to moral causes rather than to any inherent inability on the part of the guilds to adjust themselves to a changing world.

The *Corpus Sigillorum Neerlandicorum* (Amsterdam, 1938), published under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam by an editorial committee of ten well-known Netherlands historians, gives a detailed description and reproductions of 1418 seals used by monasteries, churches, personages of rank both ecclesiastical and secular, the nobility, etc., until 1300 in the territory which today constitutes the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

An interesting addition to the mounting number of French works in the field of ecclesiastical archeology is Louis de Laeger's *Histoire de Castre et de son Abbaye, de Charlemagne à la guerre des Albigeois.*

Jacques Meurgey has compiled a much-needed reference work in his *Armorial de l'église de France* (Protat Frères, Mâcon).

Early European historiography is served by the recent publication of *Historiens et chroniqueurs du moyen âge* by Albert Pauphilet. Special attention is devoted to Robert de Clari, Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, and Commynes.

Two new volumes dealing with the Valois régime in France are Pierre Champion's *Paris au temps des guerres de religion* (Calmann-Levy), and Robert Burnand's *La cour des Valois* (Hachette). Champion's book confines itself to the end of the Valois rule, dealing only with the latter part of Henri II's reign, the regency of Catherine de Medici, and the reign of Charles IX.

Protat Frères, Mâcon, are the publishers of a handsome reference volume of no little value by André Virely, *Bossuet. Essai d'iconographie* (345 pp.).

Two additional volumes have been added to the growing number of French publications on the various religious Orders. Georges Goyau relates the history and present activity of the Lazarists in his *La Congrégation de la mission des Lazaristes* (Bernard Grasset). Dom Martène is the author of *Histoire de la congrégation de Saint-Maur: 1688–1700.* This latter volume is the seventh of an ambitious history of the congregation under the general direction of Dom G. Charvin, and is a part of Picard's collection "Archives de la France monastique."

*The Life of Venerable Francis Libermann*, by G. Lee, is the story of the famous convert from Judaism who founded the Order of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost (Burns Oates and Washbourne).

An abridged translation from the French of Gaëtan de Bernoville's account of *The Jesuits* has been made by Kathleen Balfe (Burns Oates and Washbourne).

The French revision and translation of Hefele's history of the councils being published by Letouzey et Ané under the title *Histoire des conciles* will consist of twelve "tomes" in twenty-four volumes. The valuable critical notes and bibliographies added by Dom H. Leclercq have already made the translation famous. In April appeared the first part of "tome" X, *Les décrets dogmatiques du Concile de Trente* by A. Michel (640 pp.).

A revised French translation of Joseph Schmidlin's continuation of Pastor's history of the Popes is being prepared by L. Marchal and L. Cristiani. This French edition will be published in three "tomes" with a total of five volumes. The first part of the first "tome" appeared during May

(Emmanuel Vitte). It is entitled *Pie VII*, and is a part of the larger unit *La Papauté et les papes de la restauration*. The general title of the entire project is *Histoire des papes de l'époque contemporaine*.

A new French publication of interest to American readers is Gabriel Louis Jaray's *L'Empire Français d'Amérique: 1534–1803* (376 pp.).

Freemasonry continues to occupy the attention of certain French authors. The latest addition to the works on this subject is *Un mystique lyonnais et les secrets de la Francmaçonnerie: 1730–1824* by Alice Joly.

Father Joseph Marie Cros, S.J., is the author of a three-volume *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, d'après les documents et les témoins* (528, 490, 284 pp.). The publisher is Beauchesne.

The most recent publication of the Catholic Anthropological Conference is *The Mayawyaw Ritual, 3, Death and Death Ritual* by Francis Lambrecht, C.I.C.M. (Washington, 1938).

Bulletin 117 of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution is M. W. Stirling's *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians*.

*The Journal of Southern History* for May announces a projected *History of the South, 1607–1940*, to be published in ten volumes. It is under the joint sponsorship of the University of Texas and Louisiana State University, and the joint editorship of Professor Charles W. Ramsdell of Texas and Professor Wendell H. Stephenson of Louisiana State. The volumes of the series will seek to maintain a proper balance among the several aspects of Southern history—political, economic, social, cultural, religious, diplomatic, military, etc.—and they will be written to appeal to the intelligent general reader as well as to the professional historian.

*Museum Echoes* (May), the monthly publication of the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, consists of a "Prospectus for a History of the State of Ohio", under the general editorship of Carl Wittke. The prospectus contains a tentative table of contents, and information concerning the collaborating authors of the projected history. If carried through to completion, this history will fill an important gap in the series of state histories now available.

*The Story of the American Irish Historical Society* (New York, 1938), published by the Society, is a modest pamphlet on the life and aims of the organization.

The Rev. Benjamin Blied of Milwaukee, Wisc., contributes another well-documented article in his series "The Bishops of the South and the Civil War", in *The Salesianum* for April.

A special Easter number of *The Tidings*, the Los Angeles Catholic weekly, furnishes short histories of the various parishes of the archdiocese.

Volume 25, no. 2, of *The University of Colorado Studies* (March), contains "Papers concerning Junius Henderson, Curator of the University of Colorado Museum from 1909 to 1933".

The Knox College Library (Galesburg, Ill.) has recently published *Some Recent Additions to the Finley Collection on the History and Romance of the Northwest*.

*Speculum* for April includes the following articles: "Caradoc of Llancarfan" by J. S. P. Tatlock, "*De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus* and the Latin Physiologus" by F. J. Carmody, "The Chronicle of Turpin in Saintonge" by C. Meredith-Jones, "Mesarites as a Source" by A. A. Vasiliev, "Manuscripts of Nicholas of Cues" by B. L. Ullman, "The Council of Chalcedon and Episcopal Jurisdiction" by Helen R. Bittermann, "Two Easter Tables" by C. W. Jones, and "Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Modena Archivolt: A Question of Precedence" by Roger S. Loomis.

The March issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* contains part five of Ara Timourian's "Catholic Exploration of the Far West, 1794–1835", as well as "Col. James Smith and the Caughnawaga Indians" by Anna Dill Gamble, and "Saint Basil's, Dushore, Pennsylvania, During One Hundred Years, 1838–1938" by Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A.

*Church History* for March prints Herbert W. Schneider's "The Intellectual Background of William Ellery Channing", "Some Essays on Toleration in Late Eighteenth Century England by Charles F. Mullett, and "*The Naked Truth:* a Plea for Church Unity" by Ethyn W. Kerby. The last article concerns an anonymous tract, published in 1676.

The centennial of the Church in the Pacific Northwest occurs this year. On November 24, 1838 the first priests, Fathers Francis N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers, arrived from Canada at Fort Vancouver, and offered Mass the following day, thus inaugurating the work of the Church in that region, which was then in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. They had celebrated Mass on their way down the Columbia, but November 24 marks the formal beginning of their ministry in Lower Oregon.

May 31, 1938 will be the centennial of the arrival of Fathers De Smet and Verreydt at Council Bluffs, where they opened St. Joseph's Mission, the earliest center of Catholic life in western Iowa.

The Jesuit Potawatomi Mission of Sugar Creek was opened on October 2, 1838. This Mission was later moved to St. Mary's on the Kansas River. Accordingly, St. Mary's, a once thriving and important missionary institution of the frontier, may regard this year as its centennial.

Father Helias, pioneer builder of organized Catholicism in central Missouri, was installed as the first Jesuit pastor of Westphalia, Missouri, on May 13, 1838. His first church in Osage County was built in this year.

*The Historical Bulletin* for May contains four interesting articles, "Saint Pius the Fifth" by Pedro Leturia, "Another Priest in Politics" (Bishop Patrick Lynch of Charleston) by John B. McGloin, "That Holy Roman Empire" by Francis S. Betten, and "William of Warenne, a Cluny Patron" by Herbert H. Coulson.

*The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March includes various articles of interest to the early history of the state, among them Emil Baensch's "J. H. A. Lacher, 1856–1936", Bayrd Still's "The Growth of Milwaukee As Recorded by Contemporaries", W. A. Titus' "Historic Spots in Wisconsin: Brothertown", and "Some Recollections of Thomas Pederson".

*Liturgical Arts* for the third quarter of 1938 includes the usual quota of helpful and suggestive articles in its field, among them "The Priest and the Architect" by Canon Arthur Jackman, "Cantate Domino", by J. A. Winnen, "A Revolution in Church Architecture" by H. A. Reinhold, and "Archeology and the Church of To-Day" by Jean Pierre Kirsch.

The sixteenth number of the *St. Meinrad Historical Essays* appeared in May. It contains five articles besides the usual departments. Among them are "Origin of the American Indian" by Harry Hoover; "An Apology for St. Boniface" by Alcuin Deck; "Doctor Walsh Presents Philip II" by James Galvin; "Reunion of Oriental Churches" by George Muresan; and "From Evening to Morning Mass" by Gerard Ellspermann.

*Premier bulletin bibliographique de la Société des Ecrivains canadiens* is a small but valuable pamphlet listing the works of members of the society published during 1937. Among them appear thirteen volumes on Canadian history and biography.

Paul Lehmann, in the *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Abteilung*, Munich, 1936, Heft 2, and 1937, Heft 7, contributes a study of mediæval Latin literature in the Scandinavian countries, entitled: "Skandinaviens Anteil an der lateinischen Literatur und Wissenschaft des Mittelalters." In an *Anhang*, in Heft 7, pp. 84–122, are printed Latin poems: one in honor of the Blessed Virgin, a poetical Office of St. Thorlac, a verse prayer to St. Thorlac, distichs for St. John's Gospel, a variation of the *Meum est propositum*, and variants

for the *Historia Norwegiae* of the monk Theodoricus. A double-columned index of persons and things, pp. 123–136, shows the richness of this study.

An article by N. Kyll, "Patrozinien als Quellen trierer Missionsgeschichte", *Pastor Bonus*, February–March, 1938, deals with the churches dedicated to St. Maximinus, bishop of Trier, and to St. Peter. The churches under the patronage of St. Maximinus are all very old. They are found in the neighboring dioceses as well as in Trier. The cathedral of Trier is under the patronage of St. Peter. The fact that he was chosen as patron for many early churches in this region is an indication of devotion and loyalty to him. J. Wagner in the same number contributes a similar article, "Zur Siedlungsgeschichte des mittleren Mosellandes durch die ersten christlichen Glaubensboten". It deals with the many churches named after the little-known St. Castor and the many place-names of Spanish origin that were evidently given by that saint and his followers.

*Revue Historique* (*Bulletins Critiques*), t. 184, January–March 1938, contains a discussion by Paul Cloché of bibliography on Greek history (1933–1937); a continuation of the bibliography on mediæval Germany by Marc Bloch and Ch. E. Perrin; and a bibliography of mediæval Church history by Edouard Jordan. Professor Jordan's article, really a series of discriminating book reviews, deals with literature between 1932 and 1936. He has high praise for *The Tradition of the Nun in Medieval England* by Sister Mary of the Incarnation Byrne, a dissertation of the Catholic University of America.

*Rivista di archeologia christiana*, XIV, nos. 3–4, carries a lengthy and well-illustrated article by G. Serra Vilarò on the results of excavations in the early Christian cemetery of Tarragona. Two thousand and fifty tombs have been found there. The cemetery was used from the third to the fifth century, when it was destroyed by the invading Visigoths.

Isidoro Rodriguez-Herrera, *Poeta Christianus Prudentius, Auffassung vom Wesen und von der Aufgabe des christlichen Dichters* (Pilgerdruckerei, Speyer, 1936) is a Munich thesis. It points out the high ideals that the greatest of the early Christian poets set for himself. His poetry was his service to God, his sacrifice; by it he hoped to save his soul and lead other men to God. The author shows the enlightened attitude of Prudentius toward pagan art and letters. He used the old form but poured a new spirit into it.

A summary of the unprinted doctoral thesis of A. C. Lawson, *The Sources of the De ecclesiasticis officiis of Saint Isidore of Seville*, appears in *Revue Bénédictine*, 50, (1938), nos. 1–2. The dissertation is deposited in the Bodleian library. The author has made a complete and careful investigation of the sources used by Saint Isidore in this treatise on the

ceremonies and ministers of the Church. His conclusions show that the entire work with the exception of a few paragraphs is based on previous writers, especially Augustine and Jerome, and that Isidore's contribution consists in the selection and arrangement of his authorities in a form suited to the Visigothic Church of the seventh century. It is to be hoped that the work will be published soon in its entirety.

C. Silva-Tarouca, S.J. edits *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum ad Vicarios per Illyricum aliosque Episcopos Collectio Thessalonicensis* as number 22 of the series *Textus et Documenta* published by the Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana. The *Collectio Thessalonicensis*, found in Ms. Vaticanus Latinus 5751, contains the text of a Roman synod of 531 which dealt with matters concerning the papal vicariate of Thessalonica, twenty-three papal letters from Damascus to Leo the Great, three imperial letters, and one of the patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople. This critical edition replaces the previous faulty one.

*Documents.* Don Pedro Alvarez, Obispo de Popayán. E. R. Tirado (*Boletin de Historia y Antigvedades*, XXV, no. 280); Apuntes para la Historia de la Diócesis de Guayaquil (continued), J. M. Navarro Jijon (*Boletin del Centro de Investigaciones Historicas*, 1936); Nouveaux sermons de S. Augustin, C. Lambot (*Revue Bénédictine*, XLIX, nos. 3, 4; L, nos. 1, 2); Provinciae Franciae Chartularum Aliaque Documenta Saec. XIII, Hugolinus Lippens, O.F.M. (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, January–April); Trois lettres inconnues d'Yves de Chartres, Fr. S. Schmitt (*Revue Bénédictine*, L, no. 2); Constitutiones generales editae in Capitulis generalibus Caturci an. 1337 et Lugduni an. 1351 celebratis, Michael Bihl, O.F.M. (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, January–April); L'Ordo Lectionum, les Us et la bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Wandrille au XIV siècle, J. Laporte (*Revue Mabillon*, XXVII, XXVIII); S. Bernardin de Sienne et le Nom de Jésus, Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M. (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, January–April); L'Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Ayoul de Provins et le Récit des Miracles du Saint, G. Godefroy (*Revue Mabillon*, XXVIII); Intorno a M. Antonio de' Medici, Frate Minore e Vescovo di Marsico Nuovo (†1485), Benvenuto Bughetti, O.F.M. (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, January–April); Spogli da codici epigrafici ambrosiani, Liana Montevecchi (*Aevum*, January–March); The Founding of Missions at La Junta de los Rios, Reginald C. Reindorp (*Mid-America*, April); Bourke on the Southwest, XIII, Lansing B. Bloom (*New Mexico Historical Review*, April); A Side Light on Federalist Strategy During the War of 1812, J. S. Martell (*American Historical Review*, April); Diary of George W. Stoner — 1862 (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, March); Letters of Rev. Joseph Kundek to Prince-Archbishop of Vienna (*St. Meinrad Historical Essays*, May); The Text of the letter of the Catholic Bishops of the United States to the German

Hierarchy (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, March).

*Anniversaries. 25th:* St. Ann's, San Antonio, Tex.; Marycliff Academy, Arlington, Mass. *50th:* St. Lawrence's, Milwaukee, Wis.; Sisters of Mercy, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Sisters of St. Joseph, Abilene, Kans. *75th:* Mount St. Scholastica College, Atchison, Kans.; St. Mark's, Tell City, Ind.; St. Joseph's College, Hinsdale, Ill.; Manhattan College, New York, N. Y.; La Salle College, Philadelphia; St. Mary's College, Oakland, California; arrival of Christian Brothers in Ecuador. *150th:* appointment of John Carroll as first Archbishop of the United States. *200th:* San Fernando Cathedral, San Antonio, Tex. *275th:* Quebec Seminary. *1000th:* birth of Pope Sylvester II, Aurillac, France.

*Appointments.* Rev. Harold A. Gonder of Cleveland, vice rector of American College, Louvain, Belgium; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis W. Walsh, president of College of New Rochelle, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. Howard J. Carroll of Pittsburgh, assistant to Monsignor Ready, general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

## BRIEF NOTICES

ABBOTT, WILBUR CORTEZ, Francis Lee Higginson, Professor of History in Harvard University, with the assistance of CATHERINE D. CRANE, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell.* Vol. I, 1599-1649. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. xx, 759, $5.00.) The publication of the first volume of a set of four on the source materials for Oliver Cromwell's history comes almost simultaneously with the retirement of the distinguished editor and compiler from his chair of history in Harvard University. Fortunate, indeed, would be the students of other personalities in English history, were they able to have the materials of their subject so thoroughly and critically edited, as Professor Abbott has done for the Cromwellian documents. Within the pages of this volume he has included all the important documents of the earlier Carlyle and Lomas collections of Cromwell's papers and more than seven hundred other items drawn from a great number of sources. This volume covers the period of Cromwell's early life (1599) and his public career to the death of Charles I (1649). It is planned to have three other volumes follow, which will take the records down to his death. Professor Abbott's long years of research on the general subject of Cromwell have given him an insight which few possess. That appears to advantage in the introduction and sketch of his life which are printed here, but more importantly in the significant critical notes attached to individual documents. The task of editing has been done in the most approved fashion. The volume also contains three illustrations of Cromwell himself, one of the Huntington house of the family, and four full-sized maps of Cromwell's military campaigns which will enable the reader to follow the military aspects of his career much more intelligently. The letters and speeches themselves treat of a bewildering variety of subjects of both a personal and public nature. This work when completed will be easily the best collection of Cromwellian documents. Professor Abbott has placed all students of seventeenth-century English history in his debt with this careful and scholarly work on the sources of one of the century's pivotal figures. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS.)

ATTWATER, DONALD, *The Dissident Eastern Churches.* (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1937, pp. xiii, 349, $3.50.) The purpose of this interesting book is to make those of the Latin rite more familiar with the history and present status of the eastern churches not in communion with the Holy See. It forms a companion volume to the author's *Catholic Eastern Churches,* published some years ago, and with it presents a panoramic picture of the Christian East. In view of the widespread ignorance of the subject the importance of these works is easily seen. After treating the Orthodox Church first—because of its overwhelmingly greater importance—he examines the various groups more or less in the order of their emergence as autonomous churches. In a definitely objective way he gives the historical background of

each dissident church and then describes its doctrines, ceremonies, costumes, architecture and furnishings, as they obtain in each Church today. Not that all this has not been done before; a glance at the bibiliographies at the end of each chapter reveals a surprisingly large number of works in English, French and German particularly. But for the most part these are highly specialized works; many of which are unreliable and now out of date. The present volume is of a sufficiently popular nature to recommend itself to the average reader; and yet its scholarship is so evident that it will appeal to the student of history and religion as an objective exposition of a subject which continues to be highly controversial, especially among those not of the Church. It has a good bibliography, a glossary of terms, directions for Catholics who visit Orthodox Churches, a chart of Dissident Churches, an index and a number of interesting cuts. It is necessary to remark, however, that the mutilated picture facing page 318 should not have been used in a work like this. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

ANDREWS, CHARLES M., *The Colonial Period of American History: the Settlements, III.* (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xiii, 354, $4.00.) In his previous volumes Professor Andrews, writing of the settlement of New England, the founding of Maryland, and the occupation of the West Indies, brought to a close the account of the first period of English colonization in America. In this third volume he begins the story of the second period and discusses the design upon Jamaica, New Netherland (in two chapters), the proprietary troubles in the Jerseys, the beginnings and later years of the Carolinas (two chapters), and the proprietary province of Pennsylvania. Other colonies were to be acquired—Nova Scotia, Georgia, and additional occupation of the West Indies, but these came from motives quite different, and were largely the result of commercial and international forces.

In this representation, Professor Andrews sees, in spite of divergent characteristics and conditions of the colonies, the beginning of a designed commercial policy and of centralized control. He has never failed to link up the colonies with the land of their origin and to show "how impossible it is to understand their history unless we understand that of England also." When in future volumes he shall have examined the English system of administration and the evolution of a programme conditioned by governmental policy and by the changes through which the English constitution was passing, we shall have not so much the internal history of thirteen colonies but rather a proper understanding of the entire colonial field in English history.

This new period of colonization, covered by the present volume, shows the marks of changing conditions. The Puritan influence was dying: the religious motive, generally, played little part in the new undertakings; the more worldly forces of trade and commerce were operating. England was expanding into a colonial empire, on which account her attitude toward old and future possessions was no longer one of indifference.

Fears based on religious bias were not, however, absent. The Catholic countries of Spain and France threatened England's ambitions, to create anti-Catholic hysteria; while at home the dread of Catholic domination from the

throne was for some time disturbing. Nor were the colonies free from this feeling. In New York this phase of politics was especially evident. Not only was there a Catholic on the throne of England, but Dongan the governor was a "papist", as were Plowman the collector, Baxter in charge of the fort at Albany, Brockholls, major and former acting governor, and some minor civil and military officials (p. 123). Dongan (a sympathetic summary of whose administration is given on p. 127) after his retirement was believed to be fostering popish plots; Nicholson, "because he was twice seen in England kneeling when mass was celebrated," was accused of being a Catholic; and even Andros was distrusted as a Catholic sympathizer.

Students will regret that Professor Andrews has not discussed the questions he raises (pp. 284-285) in connection with that ambiguous provision of the Pennsylvania charter which forbade the levying of taxes save by the assembly "or by act of parliament." Perhaps at some future time he will expand his statements on the subject. The author's gift of interpretation gives his chapters unity, a good example of which is seen in the similarities he points out in conditions in Maryland and New York, especially during the revolutionary movements of 1689 and in the conflict between Roman Catholic ascendancy and proprietary prerogative. The footnotes are again rich in content and reference; worthy of especial mention are his notes on the Bellomont-Basse controversy (pp. 180-181), and on the Hudson's Bay Company (pp. 226-227). (Leo F. Stock.)

Beach, Mrs. Hicks, *A Cardinal of the Medici. Being the Memoirs of the Nameless Mother of the Cardinal Ippolito De' Medici.* (New York, the Macmillan Co., 1937, pp. 411.) Although some historians are of the opinion that the mother was a lady of the Urbino and her name Pacificia Brandano, Mrs. Hicks-Beach begins her colorful tale with these words: "The secret of the mother of the Cardinal Ippolito is I believe inviolate. That the lord Giuliano de' Medici was his father is known to all." Color is the most striking note in this tapestry of the cinquecento. The story moves in leisurely fashion back and forth between Florence and Rome. Its author shows an amazing intimacy with Italian geography and her detailed knowledge of the architecture, the apparel, the social customs of the magnificent ducal households is truly stupendous. Nobles and ladies, popes and cardinals step forth upon this gorgeous canvas as from the rich backgrounds of a Correggio or a Titian. This is no novel but a chronicle, written in the unhurried pace of a Froissart. Yet in these days of crisp style we become impatient of a prose that is as elaborate as the etiquette of the period it reveals. Contrary to this reviewer's fears, however, here is no fictionized history of the Hackett brand. Matters of sex are touched upon with delicacy and restraint — undoubtedly, a feat when one stops to consider the opportunities which the sixteenth-century gives to the flamboyant romance writers of the twentieth. The pattern of the tapestry is that crowded hour of glorious life led by the young Cardinal Ippolito. A favorite with his great uncle, Leo X, brother of the Magnificent, the boy was brought up in the papal palace. His unknown mother who tells his story, was already the wife of a gentleman of the Medici court in Florence when she secretly bore and abandoned the Duke of Nemour's son. Marry-

ing a Roman after the death of her first husband, she becomes the somewhat tedious witness of events in Rome up to the accession of Clement VII. Youthful indiscretion had evidently been submerged in elegant decorum, because she was chosen duenna to the child Catherine de'Medici. But it is Ippolito who dominates these pages. Ippolito—charming to his young cousin, the future Queen of France, heartbreaking to the lovely duchess of Trajetto, and a Bayard to Clement. The Cardinal de' Medici is a baffling character. Brilliant, cynical, generous, he was caught beyond control in the whirling eddies of intrigue. "Vainly," says his chronicler, does she "unroll the unavailing tale to its end." (ALICE MCLARNEY.)

BELLOC, HILAIRE, *An Essay on the Nature of Contemporary England.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1937, pp. xi, 91, $1.25.) In this little book Mr. Belloc purports to give an objective study of his own country as it is today. To him it appears to possess three outstanding characteristics: It is aristocratic, Protestant, commercial. The volume is a development and exposition of that thesis, based on his own experience and education; and he succeeds in presenting a detached and unimpassioned picture, one which will be accepted by readers equally detached and unimpassioned even though some of them may not agree with each detail. Those familiar with Mr. Belloc's writings will recognize here much that he has expressed elsewhere, especially in the later portions of his *History of England* and *James II.* Probably no living writer has done more to dim the false lustre of "Good Queen Bess" and "the Glorious Revolution" than he has, though that sort of thing is so firmly established that it will withstand a lot of attacking, and despite all that can be adduced against it English boys will continue for a long time to come to be taught that England was saved from popish tyranny by those high-minded patriots who set William and Mary on the throne, as they are taught that the War of 1812 was a triumph for the British Navy. The present book contains a few passages which may require a word or two. Page 10: "Great commercial polities develop under all forms of religion." True, but commercialism seems to thrive more lustily in a Protestant environment, as witness the Calvinists of France and of the Netherlands. Page 24: "Class government was not imposed upon the English people nor even accepted by them, but—as it were—'grown' or 'bred from' the very thing which the English people had become through the effects of the Reformation, acting upon the original national material." But since the class government of present-day England is rooted in Protestantism, which certainly *was* imposed upon the English people, we can say that class government has been imposed upon them too. *Causa causae est causa causati.* The passage (p. 34) about liberty and equality would be more effective if the reader were reminded that liberty and equality are mutually exclusive. We cannot have both, we must choose between them; and since liberty is essential to human dignity equality must be rejected. Moreover, equality is inconsistent with order, which is not only the first law of Heaven (and ought to be the first law of Earth as well) but is also, as Mr. Belloc observes (p. 72), a notable feature of British administration. And anyhow, freedom is to some extent at least attainable, while equality is not. Page 48: "There is a certain known atmosphere and quality

about all that is or has lately been within the Roman communion, a certain savour in the culture proceeding ultimately from that religion; it is the cultural savour of Belgian, French, Irish, Italian, Spanish life. Against this quality or savour the English spirit is arrayed. It is hostile to the social effect of the Catholic Church." That is a fact, but it is the kind of fact which can easily be overstated. Still it is well to be reminded of it and to guard against the evil consequences. Newman regretted that since the Reformation the tone of Catholicism has been prevailingly Latin and he disapproved Faber's efforts to introduce among English Catholics the devotional practices of Italy; while the Holy See itself encourages the formation of a native clergy and the cultivation of native art forms. As long as in a given country most of the priests are foreigners and church art takes no account of local traditions Catholicism will wear an alien look. Fortunately, there are in England persons who realize that they can be sound Catholics without adopting the practices of France or Italy. If there were not, the conversion of England would be even less likely than it is. By a slip (p. 56), New York is called a capital, and on the following page an annoying misprint gives "World" for "Word." (EDWIN RYAN.)

BELLOC, HILAIRE, *The Crusades.* (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1937, pp. x, 331, $3.00.) One of Mr. Belloc's fortes is his knowledge of military strategy and his ability to describe well a military campaign. Perhaps this is why his present work is worthwhile. The Crusades have been told time and again, but here they are treated in a new way. It is true that Mr. Belloc uses no new material, preferring as he does to utilize the findings of others who do the spade work for him and other popularizers in the historical field; yet his novel presentation of well-known facts results in a clear-cut picture of what the Crusades really were. Undoubtedly, the chief value of his book is the refutation which it gives to the generally accepted theory that the Crusades failed because of the avarice of those who were in charge. Belloc holds that the Crusades failed because their leaders and their armies were recruited from a feudal society, with no central authority and without a central command, and because of the neglect of the Crusaders to take Aleppo and Damascus, key cities which in the hands of the Christians would have cut the Mohammendan world in two. As it was, the road which united the Moslems of Asia Minor and those of Africa was left open, thus permitting in time the union under Saladin and the pushing of the kingdom of Jerusalem into the sea. The insistence upon this fatal mistake of the Crusaders is really the burden of this book. It is also its chief defect. There is a point when the intelligence of the average reader resents the useless repetition of even important facts. Belloc shows that the first Crusade was the only real one, and that the others were abortive attempts to succor the vain efforts to retake what had been once gained and then lost. He also brings out the exact rôle of the Eastern Empire in the once great drama of conquest and of faith, and how monarchy kept in being for so long a time this Christian island in a Moslem sea. His dislike of Mohammedanism, however, pushes him much too far. The Epilogue is interesting, even though it reflects those apocalyptic visions which Mr. Belloc enjoys when he writes of the past. For

instance, page 106 gives us in brief the history of western civilization *if* the Crusaders had taken Aleppo in 1097 and Damascus in 1148! There is some fine writing, such as on pages 141, 143, 144 and 146; there is some careless writing, as on pages 69 and 72. His maps, while useful to a certain point, are of little help to the reader for the important pages 103-105. As is his custom, Mr. Belloc fails to give a bibliography, an especially serious defect in a work that represents no original research. There is a table of contents and an index; the physical makeup of the book is all that could be desired. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

BENNS, F. LEE, *European History Since 1870*. (New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938, pp. xviii, 903, $4.50.) Those who have used Professor Benns' *Europe Since 1914* as a text in courses in contemporary history will welcome this volume which traces the history of Europe from the Franco-German War through the major developments in current affairs such as the Spanish Civil War up to November, 1937. Professor Benns devotes the two chapters comprising Part One to a discussion of the economic and social forces present in the European world in 1870. Part Two consists of eight chapters in which the major powers are taken up singly, with two chapters on the smaller nations of the West and Turkey with the Balkans. Four chapters are given to the World War in Part Three. The foregoing comprise approximately half the volume with the remainder treating of the Peace of Paris and the problems of post-war Europe. The last major section of the book is a worthwhile feature, namely two chapters on the Near and Middle East and the Far East. The latter chapter closes with the Brussels conference on the Sino-Japanese War in November, 1937.

Altogether Professor Benns has performed his task well. The material is well apportioned, the volume contains an extensive bibiliography of some forty pages, a good index, eighteen excellent illustrations, and thirty-six maps of various sizes. Most of the characteristics of the best textbook can be found in this volume. The author wisely makes no attempt to interpret the phenomena of contemporary history, merely setting them down and leaving interpretation to the reader. This is historical prudence, since we are too close to many of these events to give them a definitive judgment. Professor Benns' work can be recommended highly either as a textbook for college courses in the contemporary period or for the reading of the intelligent layman anxious for a sober account of the factors that have made Europe's history during the last sixty-five years. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS.)

BREBNER, JOHN BARTLET, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia. A Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 388.) Ten years ago Dr. Brebner published as his doctoral dissertation, *A New England Outpost*, a study of Acadia before 1760. In this second book he reiterates his belief that the seventeenth-century name of *Acadia* and Longfellow's romantic treatment have obscured the facts that New England was the dominant influence in Nova Scotia up to the eve of the Revolution. Yet a consideration of the leavening influence of the French which continued to rise in spite of dungeon, fire and sword would make this

statement most debatable. After the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, the Province had become almost depopulated, Halifax shrinking from six thousand inhabitants to a township of barely thirteen hundred souls. Governor Charles Lawrence, who had played his shameful English part in the fall of Beauséjour, issued his first public invitation to land-hungry New Englanders in 1758. Dr. Brebner points out that in the so-called charter of Nova Scotia drawn up by Lawrence and his successor Jonathan Belcher, full liberty of worship was granted to all but Roman Catholics. The representatives of the Crown could not afford to trifle with the dissenting New England conscience which considered the Church of England only another satellite of the *Triple Tyrant*. But Indians, refugee Acadians and Scottish and Irish Catholics made complete emancipation an issue as early as 1783. The first New Englanders emigrated to Nova Scotia between 1760 and 1768. Their children were to feel so deeply-rooted in the soil as to resent the subsequent influx of colonial Tories during and after the Revolution. In two quite absorbing chapters, entitled "Self Support and Dependence" and "A New New England," Dr. Brebner describes the economic, social and domestic life of the first pioneers. A sturdy, utilitarian race, they had cleared the wilderness, prepared the land for the more polished and complacent Loyalists of the next decades. Any scattered sympathy for the rebellious Colonies would have made scant headway in Nova Scotia both because of its isolated position and because of its growing economic subservience to England. As the forest ebbed away from the Province, she had so *neutralized* her immigrants that their cultural orbit slowly turned from Boston to London. This work which might have been so statistically dull is enlivened by a running style and a personal flavor fortunately not smothered in scholarship. It is to be regretted that the book contains only one map and that in a thoroughly poor finish. (ALICE MCLARNEY.)

BUTLER, RUTH LAPHAM, *A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection*. (Chicago, The Newberry Library, 1937, pp. viii, 295, $5.00.) To write for publication a brief notice of this attractive volume is a distinct pleasure for one who knew the late Mr. Edward E. Ayer personally and experienced in a practical way the encouraging generosity of this truly Christian gentleman and who in the use of his valuable Collection enjoyed the expert assistance of Miss Smith, now custodian emerita of the Collection, and of Dr. Butler, its present custodian. These personal considerations make the volume a priceless souvenir. At the same time, as an aid to students of American history, it is of inestimable value and importance, serving as guide in a depository of source materials that deserves to be more widely known. The *Check List*, comprising 222 pages, contains 1,769 items grouped under seven heads; viz., North America, Spanish America, Philippine Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Indian Languages, Philippine Languages and Hawaiian Languages. The Index which takes up 73 pages manifests the care and industry of a real scholar. To prepare a volume of this type is by no means an easy task and by preparing it so carefully Dr. Butler, despite her modest statement in the Introduction, has made students of American history her debtors for all time to come. The Board of Trustees of the Newberry Library

have rendered a real service to science by making possible this valuable *Check List*. To quote from the announcement of the Librarian of Newberry, Dr. George B. Utley, ". . . students of American history should know of the existence, location, and availability of the manuscript material here recorded." The publication of the present handsome volume will certainly help achieve the lofty purpose that the late Mr. Ayer had in mind when he began a half century ago the Collection that bears his name. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.)

CALDER, ISABEL M., *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys*. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935, pp. vii, 255, $2.50.) This book affords another instance of the historical interests of the recently deceased Dr. J. F. Jameson. Long a valued adviser of the National Society of Colonial Dames, he made the selection of the manuscript material which has been here printed under the auspices of that organization. This collection has been carefully edited by the author, who has further enhanced its value by excellent notes.

With the exception of Father Montigny's two reports of his journey in 1699 and 1700, this collection covers the period from 1745 to 1771. Full of human and historical interest, these journals range from the chatty descriptions of a nurse's life with the British army on a colonial march to the pitiful appeals for money and clothes on the part of indentured servants, from carefully prepared military intelligence—in the first and last three of these journals, as well as the fifth—to the detailed descriptions of Indian life and customs. The most interesting of these is the long "Journal of a Captive, 1745-1748", which forms more than half of the book. Previously used by Emma Lewis Coleman in her monumental study, *New England Captives carried to Canada*, it is now available in printed form as further evidence of the poignant sufferings of captives in Canadian prisons. The whole collection provides in printed form further material for the study of the later stages of the French and Indian Wars. (ARTHUR J. RILEY.)

CASTAÑEDA, CARLOS EDUARDO, *A Report on the Spanish Archives in San Antonio, Texas*. [Yanaguana Society Publications, Vol. I.] (San Antonio, 1937, pp. 167.) Very appropriately the Yanaguana Society of San Antonio selected this volume as its first publication. The author is at present historiographer of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission to whom we are indebted for the two recently published volumes of *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas — The Mission Era*. Dr. Castañeda wrote the *Report* on the San Antonio Archives as a master's dissertation for the University of Texas. It lists the documents now preserved in the county clerk's office. They are properly grouped according to the general division of secular and ecclesiastical papers and in each case they are arranged under special heads according to year and month with a brief notice as to the contents of each document. The secular documents cover the years from 1736 to 1830, the ecclesiastical or mission records from 1793 to 1824, and the miscellaneous papers from 1761 to 1838. Naturally, the second group is the shortest, owing to the fact that the ecclesiastical papers are preserved in the San Fernando Cathedral Archives. These, too, Dr. Castañeda has examined and listed and he hopes to see the list published in the near future. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.)

CHINARD, GILBERT (ed.), *Le Voyage de Lapérouse sur les Côtes de l'Alaska et de la Californie (1786), avec une Introduction et des Notes.* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, *Historical Documents*, Institut Français de Washington, Cahier X, pp. xlv, 144.) It seems but yesterday, when under the leadership of Dr. Jules Baisnée, these *cahiers* of the Institut Français of Washington were begun to be published. Ten handsomely printed and bound volumes, all with a superb array of scholarly introductions and notes, have already seen the light; and in this last volume Professor Chinard is at his very best. Jean-François de Galaup Lapérouse will always be known as one of the bravest of the French Navigators of his day. Born at Guô, near Albi, on August 24, 1741, he crowded into his short life of about forty-seven years many feats of gallantry on land and on sea up to the year 1785, when he was commissioned by the French Government, with two vessels, the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe*, to find the North-West passage, with a view to increasing the whale fishery and fur trade with France. He reached Alaska in the summer of 1786, thence made for the Philippines, China and Japan, and was near Vladivostok the following summer. He was in Botany Bay by February 26, 1788, and that was the last heard of him. In 1826, the wreckage of his two vessels was found on an island north of the New Hebrides. Fortunately, he had sent de Lesseps back to France with his plans, maps, notes and journal, and these are now reproduced in this stately volume, which is a document of the first magnitude for the study of the natural history and the anthropology of the northwest coast of the Pacific and of California. Professor Chinard calls him "une des plus nobles figures dans la longue galerie des grands explorateurs" (p. xlv). (P. G.)

CLARK, DAN ELBERT, *The West in American History.* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1937, pp. xi, 632, $3.50.) The book under review is perhaps the most complete one-volume work prepared to date on the westward movement in America. It includes much material that ordinarily would not be considered as part of the history of the west. The first section of the book deals with the west under Spain, France and England, and includes much material relative to the explorations of the Spaniards in the southwest as well as that relative to the settlements made by the French and English in the east and the middle west. The warfare between the English and French, rooted in the desire which each group had to dominate the west, is treated with freshness and vigor. The relation of the colonial settlements to the westward movement is made more clear, perhaps, than it has been made in any other study in the field. Part two devotes fifteen chapters to the period from the end of the Revolutionary War to the early years of the nineteenth century. Ample treatment is given to such topics as the receding red men, the fight for free land, the problems of transportation and frontier society. Very definite factual information is included in each chapter, together with reasonable and legitimate conclusions and inferences. No tendency is observable in the direction of making Turner's frontier theory too sweeping. Restraint characterizes the summations of the influences that were at work as men and women moved toward the Pacific. The third section of the volume deals with the frontier of the far west. To many this section is the

one which deals with the west as such, and ample treatment is, therefore, accorded to eleven phases of the westward movement. A phase of the expansionist movement, such as the war with Mexico, is given sufficient treatment, but is not permitted to break up the continuity of the narrative. To the author it was part of the westward movement, but it was not the movement as such. The same observation holds true with reference to such topics as the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the struggle for Kansas. Each contributing factor is given in its proper place, but the westward movement is not halted in order to give the author an opportunity to deal at great length with one phase of it. The bibiliographical notes are decidedly complete. A separate section, devoted to each chapter, is presented with source material and secondary works presented in ample numbers, together with helpful annotations. A very detailed index completes the utility of what may be considered one of the very best books published to date on this movement which has received so much attention from its sympathetic and hostile appraisers. (PAUL KINIERY.)

COOK, ARTHUR NORTON, *Reading in Modern and Contemporary History.* (New York and London, D. Appleton Century Co., 1937, pp. 361, $2.50.) The compiler of this volume has brought together for correlative student reading an impressive collection of excerpts from various authors touching modern European movements, from different points of view, from the Industrial and French Revolutions to the condition of the states since the World War. Of both factual and philosophical character, the general approach is social, with emphasis on the idea of liberative movements. Most of the selections are taken from secondary writers, ranging from Harry Elmer Barnes to Lord Bryce. After a survey of technical changes in industry, an extended study is given to France of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A short section discusses the "Conservative Era." Movements of social reform by civil decree and materialistic philosophers are given consideration, followed by studies on Nationalism, Liberalism and Imperialism. Three sections are devoted to the World War. A symposium on the nations since the War brings the volume to a close. So far as American students are concerned, the collection would have been improved by material dealing explicitly with affairs in the Americas. An excerpt from one of the Papal Encyclicals on Labor would have been in place, to give some idea of Christian influences. Unfortunately, the religious forces of the epoch are ignored, apart from denunciation of the clergy in connection with the French Revolution. Among the copious illustrations, including photographs and cartoons of the periods described, Darwin, Marx, Tolstoi and Lenin are marked as "dynamic thinkers." Conservative forces are generally shown as reactionary and doomed. A short biographical note on the contributors and a comprehensive index of names would have improved the usefulness of the volume. (JAMES A. MAGNER.)

CRAM, RALPH ADAMS, *The End of Democracy.* (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1937, pp. ix, 261, $3.00.) This is a book most timely in the present crisis. Not only is there a sure diagnosis, based upon the sober reflections of

thinkers like Herbert Agar, Albert Jay Nock and José Ortega y Gasset, but there is presented, at least in preliminary form, the outline of constructive remedies that must be applied to our social and political ills. Ralph Adams Cram, architect and mediaevalist *par excellence*, traces many of our current difficulties to the greed and ignorance of mob rule. He has no illusions about the type of leadership that will emerge from the tabloid or mass mind. He is not impressed by the large-scale production methods of our universities; nor is he eager to extend the empire of a corrupt bureaucracy. Indeed, he would not find it impossible to accept the definition of a politician which Simon Camerson, Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Abraham Lincoln, once gave: "A good politician, Sir, is one who, when he's bought, *stays* bought."

The author has two excellent chapters on "The Forgotten Class." The latter includes "a wide diversity of types, from the small farmer on his rocky, mishandled, mostly worn-out New England acres, the small shop-keeper fighting for his life against the chain-store and the mail-order house, the craftsman or artizan outside the ramparts of organized labour, to the college professor, the artist and the parson." The middle class, he claims, has both the power of intelligence and the weight of numbers. Its members could be organized in voluntary associations on the basis of function: the vocational groups envisaged by Pius XI. Mr. Cram may add Portugal to his list of states which have adopted this system, and the most recent reports indicate that Brazil will follow the model of Portugal. In numerous passages the gifted author shows that he is familiar with the apposite passages on the corporative system in the *Quadragesimo Anno* and is frank in his admiration for the social teaching of both Leo XIII and Pius XI. Furthermore, he is on sound ground when he declares that it is "the unique and admirable British civil service that has kept the Kingdom and the Empire afloat in spite of the more or less normal ineptitude of the statesmen and politicians." The conclusion is inescapable: "What we need in every executive department in Washington is a solid body of permanent under-secretaries, clerks and other employees, well and broadly trained and irremovable except for cause—and a change in administration is not an adequate cause."

In short, *The End of Democracy* represents the distilled perfection of the most significant books in the field in the last ten years and has the added merit of a constructive plan. The type is clear and artistic in keeping with the literary style of the volume. There are a number of valuable appendices, chiefly textual quotations from important documents, but there is no index. Study clubs engaged upon the subject of social justice as well as classes in sociology, economics and politics will find this volume "required reading." (JOSEPH F. THORNING.)

DANEMARIE, JEANNE, *Jeanne Mance au Canada.* (Paris, La Bonne Presse, Paris, 1937, pp. 185.) The role of women in the colonization of Canada was an important one. Jeanne Mance was one of those women who came from France, became an intimate friend of Marie de l'Incarnation, and founded the historical Hotel-Dieu of Montreal. The author gives the details of her struggle before leaving France and after reaching this continent. She never joined any religious congregation; she was nothing else than "une infirmière".

Yet she leads so strong an interior life that she might be called the apostle of Catholic Action in the nursing field. Like an energetic yet kind general she carried on the battle for the sick in the name of her Creator. (LEON BAISIER.)

DELATTRE, PIERRE, *Le voeu de Louis XIII*. (Paris, La Bonne Presse, 1937, pp. 96, 5 francs.) This year marks the third centenary of the so-called "le voeu de Louis XIII". Through this solemn promise Louis XIII consecrated his own person, his family and his kingdom to the Blessed Virgin and inaugurated the solemn procession which still takes place in every town and hamlet in France after the second vespers of the feast of the Assumption. The author of this little volume gives the reason for the promise, and how it was conceived and executed. Although the book is written in an informal style, each statement in it is well documented. Delattre establishes a parallel between the invasion of 1636 and that of 1914, and the answer of the Queen of Heaven to the prayers of the French nation by sending to the French troops an unexpected victory. He also points out that the Blessed Virgin sent to the royal couple a son who had been wanted for more than twenty years. Those interested in this period of history will find an interesting chapter dealing with the relations of Louis XIII and Louis de La Fayette. (LEON BAISIER.)

DUMOND, DWIGHT LOWELL, *Roosevelt to Roosevelt*. (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1937, pp. 585.) The professional historian is inclined to avoid the field of recent American History, preferring to concentrate his research and writing on periods ended at least a generation ago. As a result, the most notable volumes on the complicated political, social, economic and cultural events of the past several decades of American history have come from the pens of journalists and popular historians. Thus it is with pleasure that one reads Dr. Dumond's compact survey of the United States in the twentieth century: an attempt by a professional historian (and associate professor at the University of Michigan) to chronicle the crowded developments of American life since 1900. The three most recent and ambitious reform episodes in American history consume the major portion of the volume. The ideals, achievements and shortcomings of Wilson and the two Roosevelts are fully described and reveal the author to be in hearty accord with the progressiveism of these three leaders of reform. The post-war decade, with all of its corruption, reaction and consoling prosperity, is surveyed likewise at some length. "It ended in disillusionment and despair . . . the moral tone of public life sank to the lowest depths possible without losing every semblance of responsibility for the public welfare" (p. 371). Foreign affairs, including the World War, are briefly summarized in two other chapters. Dr. Dumond has freely expressed his opinions on all of the controversial problems considered. It is clear he does not agree with those who insist that the historian in narrating past events should remain utterly detached and confine his contribution to a dispassionate account of historical events of a given period. Those holding this view will object to the author's frank, effective and frequent expression of his own economic, political and social opinions on policies

and personalities in American public life during the last forty years. Thus we find American capitalism referred to as "a modern industrial feudalism" (p. 296), while the condition of agricultural and textile labor even "approached serfdom" (p. 354). The Republican party "both represented and defended accumulated wealth, established privilege . . . and the infallibility of Supreme Court decisions" (pp. 18-19), and selected in Harding a candidate "long the servant of special interests," and "negligible except as a servant of the steel interests" (pp. 371, 374). Hoover fares little better for "his recovery program consisted of passing out millions to save from bankruptcy corporations which had turned out millions of men to starve" (p. 387), and his expulsion of the bonus army was "one of the worst exhibitions of official blundering and cruel oppression the country had ever witnessed" (p. 388). Oddly enough Bryan's agrarianism is dismissed as "naïve" and "utterly futile" (p. 20). As for the labor problems of this stormy generation of labor-capital conflict, we are told that craft and company unions are "archaic institutions" (p. 353) while industrial unionism means "a vigorous labor movement in conformity with modern industrial conditions" (p. 487). Among the many commendable features of the volume is the large amount of space devoted to the economic developments of the present century and to the very close relations existing, between government and business. On the other hand, foreign affairs are inadequately treated, and the author might have given more attention to Federal experiences in controlling the nation's economic life during the World War. Finally, the reviewer was pleasantly surprised to find Monsignor John A. Ryan listed as being "among the really great leaders of social reform; two pages are devoted to an excellent summary of his recommendations for a better economic order (pp. 418-419). Dr. Dumond has written a textbook that should provide the basis for a provocative semester course in recent American history. The author's progressive interpretation of social and economic developments during the past few decades makes his work very stimulating and without doubt it should appeal to students. (J. J. BURNS.)

DUNHAM, WILLIAM HUSE and STANLEY PARGELLIS, *Complaint and Reform in England, 1436-1714*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. xxxv, 925, $4.00.) "A collection of fifty writings of the time on politics, religion, society, economics, architecture, science, and education" is the sub-title of this work which is designed to illustrate the working of the leaven of the renaissance in English thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The documents chosen, "vulgar writings of pamphleteers, popularizers and propagandists," show the conventional view-point or they are known to have influenced men of power.

The authors give us a nice balance of religion, politics and economics, as is well illustrated by the five excerpts at the beginning of the book. These excerpts illustrate the thought of England at the close of the middle ages. *The Libel of English Policy* presents the national economic outlook that was a forerunner of Elizabethan mercantilism. Selections from sumptuary legislation show the increased wealth of the country, the persistence of mediaeval ideas of morality, and the increasing use of local authorities as the enforce-

ment agencies for national legislation. Fortescue's *Gouvernance of England* is quoted to supply the constitutional element. Dissatisfaction with the condition of the Church is shown in Simon Fish's *A Supplication for the Beggars*, while the intellect of a Catholic humanist is revealed by Lupset's *An Exhotation to Young Men*, an appeal to young men to place the things of this life in subordination to the things of the next. A fair insight into the conflicting schools of thought on the eve of the Reformation Parliament may be obtained by reading these five excerpts.

Similarly an analysis of the selections made for the time of Charles II reveals the conflict between the conservatism of the royalist-anglican school and the liberalism of the puritans. By that time of course there is more stress on science, educational theory, and economics though religion and ethics are by no means neglected.

It can fairly be asserted that a similar balance is to be found in the rest of the book. As the publishers assert, "The student of society and literature, as well as the historian, will find this an invaluable book." At least every college library ought to possess a copy. (H. H. Coulson.)

Dyckmans, Wilhelm, *Das mittelalterliche Gemeinschaftsdenken unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Totalitaet.* Eine rechtsphilosophische Untersuchung. (Paderborn, Ferdinand Schoeningh, 1937, pp. 179.) In 1913, Heinrich von Eicken in his book *Geschichte und System der mittelalterlichen Weltanschauung*, tried to prove that medieval political thought culminated in an ascetical ideal of state organization which was unable to harmonize the opposing tendencies of world denial and world subjection. A different view has since been accepted, and it has become evident that the medieval social ideal achieved both unity and harmony. On the basis of the social theories of St. Thomas, Ernst Troeltsch (*Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*) has established the organic character of the medieval concept of society in its legal aspects. The author seeks to place these ideas in their right perspective and to furnish the philosophical background for them. It was a basic conviction in medieval times that a unitary purpose ran through the world and that all empirical order was derived from a transcendent prototype. This idea inseparable from the medieval world view was logically extended to social and political life. Interestingly the evolution of this organic concept of state and society is traced from St. Augustine, "De Civitate Dei" and "De libero arbitrio," to Dante in whose "De Monarchia" it finds its most perfect expression. In this theory the community is not an end in itself, but subordinated to a higher purpose, and within the community, therefore, the relation of the parts to the whole does not constitute their whole meaning. While the book is not easy reading, and, moreover, presupposes a considerable measure of legal and philosophical knowledge, it can earnestly be recommended to those who wish to place themselves in a position to judge on historical grounds the claims of modern totalitarianism. (H. J. Bruehl.)

Even, Chanoine Michel, *Monseigneur de Segur.* (Paris, La Bonne Presse, 1937, pp. 173.) There have been many books written on the life of Monseigneur de Segur, yet this one has a special appeal. The author presents it in

a novel-like fashion, yet he does not omit or change any of the facts. Neither does he allow his imagination to wander, as so many biographers have done in writing the life of an individual from a subjective angle. Monseigneur de Segur's life to some may appear a tragedy and that of a series of misunderstandings. To Chanoine Michel Even, however, it was the life of a man who offered himself as an oblation to God. The interpretation is a sane one, for the author has not failed to realise that Monseigneur de Segur was a human being and that as such his will played an important part in his life. (LEON BAISIER.)

FARRAR, VICTOR J., *The Annexation of Russian America to the United States.* (Washington, W. F. Roberts Co., Inc., 1937, pp. vii, 142.) There has been much fiction about the annexation of Russian America; now a reliable complete account of the purchase of Alaska comes from the capable pen of Victor J. Farrar. Exhausting the sources of our information, Professor Farrar presents an interesting story of this transaction from the opening of the negotiations to the payment for the acquisition.

The statesmanship of Baron Eduard de Stoeckl, Russian Minister at Washington during the time the negotiations were carried on, and the diplomatic skill of William H. Seward, then the American Secretary of State, are clearly set forth in this study. Whether or not we are in sympathy with Seward's general political philosophy that the destiny of the United States was to spread over the entire continent of North America, we cannot but agree that the Secretary of State was acting for the best interests of this country in forwarding the payment of the debt to the Emperor of Russia in face of potent opposition in Congress. Baron de Stoeckl not only made it seem that the overtures for the purchase came from the United States but he received $7,200,000 for a property that Russia was anxious to part with for a much smaller consideration. The work is supplied with a complete bibliography and an index. (RAYMOND J. CLANCY.)

FAULKNER, HAROLD U., *American Political and Social History.* (New York City, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1937, pp. xxii, 772.) Professor Faulkner has written the stimulating and thoroughly commendable survey of American History that one would expect from the author of *American Economic History* and *The Quest for Social Justice*. His point of view is refreshingly progressive and his emphasis on the economic determinants of national and international politics no more than justly reflects the influence of Charles A. Beard. The book is well proportioned. Its forty chapters include six on "Colonial Civilization", four on the "Emergence of a New Nation", twelve on "Nationalism and Sectionalism" through the Civil War and the tragic era, seven chapters on the post-war generation which saw industrial capitalism firmly established, economically, politically and socially, and, finally, eleven chapters which emphasize America's emergence as a world power. A bibliographical appendix of some forty pages is included. The only fault the present reviewer would find with Professor Faulkner's volume is in his not having given adequate attention to the conflicting social and economic philosophies or ideologies in terms of which various reactionary, conservative, progressive, agrarian, labor

and radical policies have been justified in the press, on the rostrum and even in the halls of Congress. The economic, social and political forces and events have been well chronicled, but the inseparable bundles of ideas, prejudices and rationalizations clustering about all groups and interests on all important issues have not been fully set forth. To the growing list of textbooks in which political developments are properly subordinated to economic and social factors, Dr. Faulkner has added a volume that can be recommended wholeheartedly for an introductory course in United States history. (J. J. BURNS.)

FAULKNER, HAROLD UNDERWOOD, *Economic History of the United States.* Revised edition. (New York, The Macmillan Company, pp. 319, 1937, $ .80.) This book published in "The World Today Bookshelf" series, is not to be confused with the much more extended, *American Economic History* by the same author. In the present revision minor changes have been made except in the concluding chapter of the original work which has been rewritten. A final chapter of 14 pages is now added to cover the period since 1929. There is a summary treatment of the causes of the great depression and of the measures that have been taken looking towards recovery. The judgments here are objective and as just as it is possible to make them at this short range. (F. O'HARA.)

FRANKFURTER, FELIX, *The Commerce Clause under Marshall, Taney and Waite.* (Chapel Hall, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. 114, $1.00.) This artistically written and jurisprudentially compact little book, presenting the historical aspects of the commerce clause of the American Constitution, which empowers Congress "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States," consists of three essays, delivered originally at the Weil Lectures, at the University of North Carolina, in April, 1936. The chief purpose of the work is to narrate interpretative sequences in reference to the commerce clause during the "restrictive" period (1824-1888), *i.e.*, the cycle in which that section of the Constitution was invoked to curtail the administrative powers of the States, in so far as it interfered with national policy. A comparative technique unfolds the distinctive governmental ideals, the temperamental and environmental backgrounds and the judicial methodologies of that immortal triumvirate of United States Supreme Court Chief Justices, namely, Marshall, Taney and Waite, with respect to their construction of the commerce clause. (BRENDAN F. BROWN.)

GAMBRELL, MARY LATIMER, *Ministerial Training in Eighteenth-Century New England.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 169, $2.50.) This dissertation, prepared under the direction of Dixon Ryan Fox and Evarts B. Greene, is No. 428 in the Columbia *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.* Its purpose, since religion played such a dominant part in New England life, is to discuss some of the factors which affected clerical life, particularly in the period of transition from old ways to new. After a concise introductory survey of the procedure of the first century of Congregational clerical education in New England together with its British derivation and with a com-

parison with contemporary British practice, it treats rather completely the period from "The Great Awakening" (1735) to the founding of the first theological seminary in the nineteenth century (1808). Because of the revivals and consequent controversies and, likewise, because of the secularization of the collegiate curriculum, new demands had been placed upon the preparation for the ministry. While the college president, himself a minister, played an important part in this preparation, the School of the Prophets, i.e., the studying under a minister, became an important method of training in the last half of the eighteenth century. As the collegiate curriculum became more secularized and with the occupation of the chair of Divinity at Harvard by a Unitarian, the necessity of a formal theological seminary was realized, and shortly afterwards Andover Theological Seminary was founded. Such is the outline of the dissertation, which the author has skillfully prepared. The addition of a bibliography and an index has furthered added to its value.

While one hesitates to express the wish that the author of a dissertation had treated this or that phase, especially when the author is perhaps better acquainted with the difficulties or pitfalls incident upon such treatment, still the reviewer regrets that some space could not have been given the sources whence these young Levites obtained their knowledge of political theories and especially of anti-Catholicism. With regard to the latter the reviewer notes the lack of polemical or controversial theological works in the libraries of the ministers of the later eighteenth century in comparison with the preceding period; this is almost inexplicable in view of the virulent anti-Catholicism of the period. (ARTHUR J. RILEY.)

GOUGAUD, DOM LOUIS, *Les Saints irlandais hors d'Irlande, étudiés dans le culte et dans la dévotion traditionnelle* (*Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, Fasc. 16*). (Louvain, 1936, pp. xiii, 218.) In 1922 Dom Gougaud published a very valuable study, *Les saints irlandais dans les traditions populaires des pays continentaux* (*Revue Celtique* XXXIX (1922), 199-226, 355-358) which subsequently appeared under the title, *The Place of Irish Saints in Continental Religious Folklore*, as the second part of his book, *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity* (Dublin, 1923). In the monograph under review he takes up the same theme, but in a much more comprehensive and exhaustive manner. Forty-four saints are studied, the Irish origin of fifteen of which being recognized, however, as open to question. The liturgical or popular cult of each saint in Great Britain and in the various continental countries receives an individual systematic treatment. Iconography is included, and, in connection with the discussion of popular cults, special care has been given to data furnished by folklore. I would call particular attention to the chapters on St. Brendan, St. Brigid, St. Columbanus and St. Patrick, and to that on the history of the expression *insula sanctorum* (pp. 175-184). Four appendices and a copious index enhance the value of the monograph. This penetrating and splendidly documented study exhibits a command of Irish hagiography and the widely scattered literature bearing upon it which is only rivalled by that of another eminent continental scholar in the same field, namely, Father Paul Grosjean. Dom Gougaud has again contributed much new and important material to our knowledge of the Irish

saints and their significant rôle in the religious life of Europe from Scotland and Sweden to Italy and Hungary. He has furnished incidentally an excellent model for similar hagiographical investigations. (M. R. P. McGuire.)

Hardman, Oscar, *A History of Christian Worship.* (Nashville, Tenn., Cokesbury Press, 1937, pp. 263, $2.00.) This is the American edition of one of the series of studies published by the London Theological Library. Worship is considered in its broadest sense and is made to include all the external rites and devotions through which the spiritual life of Christians is manifested and developed. The historical exposition covers the whole range of Christianity from its earliest beginnings down to our present day. The treatment is necessarily very brief. In fact, in many places the book is scarcely more than an outline. However, it pretends to be only a summary introduction of the subject written for those who have little or no background in this particular field. From this point of view it is quite satisfying. Here and there only do the doctrinal preconceptions of the author intrude. A Roman Catholic—as Doctor Hardman would insist upon calling anyone who submits to the authority of Rome—would hardly agree with him in all his historical interpretations regarding the Mass and the Sacraments. And it is a surprise to learn that St. Alphonsus Liguori is responsible for certain dogmatic innovations that make modern Roman Catholicism particularly vulnerable to adverse criticism. The manner of presentation, however, is far from controversial in tone, and the author is quite willing to admit that the Church of Rome "stands supreme in the world to-day in the thoroughness and competence with which she seeks to assist the moral and spiritual progress of her members." (F. E. Keenan.)

Hazen, Charles Downer, *Modern European History.* Fourth Edition. Revised. (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1937, pp. xiv, 908, $4.25). This revision brings the earlier editions of the book up to 1937. No changes have been made over the 1917 edition in the first 611 pages, but fifteen new chapters of 260 pages have been added. The new material begins with the chapter on the World War and covers briefly post-War conditions in all the various states of Europe. There is some useless repetition as the scene shifts from country to country and the World War period gives too much evidence of the 1918 complex. The abundance of illustrations and maps of the earlier edition is carried through the revision. The book will serve quite satisfactorily for a survey course from the French Revolution to the present. (C. E. Schrader.)

Hulme, Edward Maslin, *The Middle Ages.* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1938, pp. 1138.) This is a revised edition of the college textbook published by Prof. Hulme in 1929. It has thirteen new chapters chiefly devoted to English history. The whole is based upon the unpublished outlines of Prof. Burr of Cornell.

One does not have to read far before noting some glaring errors and a false historical attitude. Two chapters, *Early Christianity* and *Monks and Fathers* are weak, having many unacceptable statements, e.g.: The public life of Jesus "seems to have been not more than a few months, ... perhaps it was

confined to a few weeks". Christianity succeeded because of "the new soil on which the seed fell", because of "the character of the response made by the Gentiles", "because it had become syncretistic". This is certainly an unsatisfactory answer. Of the authors of the Gospels and Epistles, they "are for the most part uncertain".

The author is too often prone to making sweeping and patently false statements, e.g. "Asceticism is always a sure symptom of an over-ripe and decaying culture", the dogma of the fall of our first parents is "a doctrine that destroys human individuality, and therefore morality" . . . Augustine's "name is the most authoritative one in the black record of intolerance".

These suffice to show the character of the book. It is obviously unfit for classroom use. We fear the author has not profited well by the wise words of his master, Prof. Burr, cited in the preface: "there is no insight without sympathy . . ." (JAMES A. CORBETT.)

HOLZNER, DR. JOSEF VON, *Paulus*. (St. Louis, B. Herder Company, 1937, pp. c, 458, $3.00.) This book is strictly a biography of St. Paul. It is, of course, inevitable that in a work of this kind, something of the main themes which occupied Paul's thoughts and which later received expression in his various Epistles should find their echo here. But the author never lets his pen run on in a commentary or explanation of the Pauline Epistles. His concern is at all times *the man*. If the essence of biography lies in making known a character from history, then Father Holzner has achieved a noteworthy success. Moreover, in keeping with modern hagiography, he builds his character not of plaster of paris tinselled with gilt, but of flesh and blood, which all real men are. If in the finished product lines all too human appear, they only serve to bring out even more strikingly the divine image stamped thereon by Christ Himself on that historic journey to Damascus. The book is really a series of brilliant pen-pictures, held together by the clever artistry of the narrator. The central figure stands out clearly. Beginning with St. Paul's infancy in the home of a fairly well-to-do and prominent Jew of the Pharisee caste, the story ends with his martyrdom near the gates of Rome. Frequently, as in a flash, the author succeeds in revealing the rôle which Paul's early training under Gamaliel and his subsequent struggle with The Law played in the formation of his particularly penetrating understanding of Christ's redemptive work. The Grace of Christ is Paul's answer to the powerlessness of the Law, and the Risen Christ is the *leit-motif* of all his tireless activities, from the moment of his conversion down to the last day of his missionary efforts. This is the lasting picture which this author creates afresh of the great Paul. Written in German with a fluent, easy style, this volume should make attractive reading not only for the schoolman but also for the man at prayer. (LOUIS ARAND.)

HUBBARD, GEORGE D., *The Geography of Europe*. (*The Century Earth Science Series*.) (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937, pp. 876, $5.00.) The author, a mature scholar and teacher, set out "to make a book of interest to students in European history, economics, political science, sociology, and

diplomatic service . . . ," and he has admirably achieved his purpose. The present work is a well-balanced, accurate textbook of European geography for college and university students. After a general introduction which ends with a sketch of the geography of Europe in prehistoric times, Professor Hubbard presents a detailed exposition of the geography of the various regions of Europe grouped according to the principle of climatic conditions: *Lands Having Mediterranean Climate, Lands Having Marine Climate, Baltic Lands (Transitional Climate)*, etc. In a final division of his book, he discusses, on the basis of his main exposition, the geography of agriculture, the growth of commerce and the geography of civilization and culture. The volume is well-equipped with maps and pictures and a good index. Each chapter is followed by a list of questions and by a select bibliography. On pp. 9-10, I miss a reference to the epoch-making work of H. Hassinger, *Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte*, Herder and Co., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931. (M. R. P. McGuire.)

Kerr, Wilfred Brenton, Associate Professor of History, University of Buffalo, *Bermuda and the American Revolution: 1760-1783*. (Princeton University Press, 1936, pp. xii, 142, $2.00.) In the study of the American Revolution the perspective is too often narrowed to the observation of the thirteen continental colonies which eventually separated from the mother country. There were, after all, other American possessions which were just as much a part of the British imperial system. The attitude of these toward the conflict has not as yet been sufficiently considered. This volume is the first of a series proposed by the author to throw needed light on the reaction of the non-revolutionary colonies, during this period, to the major issues involved.

The Stamp Act was protested in Bermuda as it was everywhere in America; but thereafter the colony had but a spectator's interest in what was occurring on the continent, largely because it was scarcely affected by the Townshend measures, the tea act, or North's intolerable acts. But after 1775, when revolt came, Bermuda had interests to be guarded and its carrying-trade to be preserved. So the colony offered to trade powder for exemption from the provisions of the embargo laid by the Continental Congress, and the latter was willing to give provisions in exchange for salt, arms, and ammunition. The author's thesis is that during the war Bermuda was more an ally to the struggling colonies than a neutral, and that its relations to them were closer than were the sympathies of the other non-revolutionary establishments.

The study is based almost entirely on manuscript sources gleaned from the Public Record Office, the correspondence of the Bishop of London, the papers of St. George Tucker, the archives of Bermuda, and the papers of the Continental Congress. The presentation is factual with little embellishment of style, but it is a useful study. (L. F. Stock.)

Strakhovsky, Leonid I., D.Hist.Sc., Professor of European History at the University of Maryland, *The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia (1918)*. With a foreword by James Brown Scott. (Princeton University Press, 1937, pp. ix, 140, $2.00.) Dr. Strakhovsky has given in his book

of 140 pages a brilliant, compact description of what happened twenty years ago in North Russia. Much has been written about the events of the Russian revolution and much more is in preparation, since the explosion caused by that great upheaval affected not only Russia but continues to reverberate throughout the world.

The author's choice of the events in Murmansk as his theme is a happy one because Murmansk plays an ever increasing part in the development of Soviet Russia. When the Russia of Peter the Great's time sought an outlet to the sea in creating St. Petersbourg (Leningrad), the Baltic Sea was a great center of trade, but today Russia's outlet to the Baltic can be easily blocked by the German fleet, thanks to Kiel Canal. Therefore, Murmansk, an ice-free port, giving an outlet into the open ocean, is assuming first rank importance. No wonder that the Allied fleets protected Murmansk so eagerly from falling into German hands during the World War. And since the discovery of mineral resources in North Russia, Murmansk has become a key city, rising from a little fisherman's hamlet to a first-class port.

The author, a participant in the events which he describes, has approached his work in a scientific, scholarly manner. He has maintained a fine objective attitude throughout the book, though at times he has made clear his resentment toward the Allies who purposed partition of his native country. He has not depended upon that tricky tool, memory, in his narration; the book is thoroughly documented with references to source material never before published. In addition to the Vesselago memorandum and the E. Francis Riggs papers, there is an exhaustive bibliography of English, French, German and Russian authorities. There is an excellent index, and two maps help the reader to orient himself. The book is to be praised for its scholarship, solid documentation and excellent presentation, and may be classified as source material for a little known phase of American diplomacy during the World War.

The Princeton University Press should be complimented not only for the publication of a book of such evident merit but also for its excellent workmanship in print and binding. (ALFRED BILMANIS, Minister of Latvia.)

WARD, MAISIE (Ed.), *The English Way: Studies in English Sanctity from St. Bede to Cardinal Newman.* (London & New York, Sheed & Ward, 1933, pp. 328, $2.50.) This book is a series of sixteen short biographies, running from 11 to 36 pages each, of Englishmen from St. Bede to Cardinal Newman who have exemplified the English Catholic way of life under divergent national conditions. The editor's Foreword declares the purpose of the volume is "not to attempt to analyse the English Way of being Catholic, but to present certain characters, certain ideas, from which the reader may make his own analysis and paint his own picture." The writers listed on the title-page are M. C. D'Arcy, S.J., Hillaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton, Christopher Dawson, Bede Jarrett, O.P., Dom David Knowles, Aelfric Manson, O.P., C. C. Martindale, S.J., David Mathew, Gervase Mathew, O.P., Michael Trappes-Lomax, Maisie Ward, E. J. Watkin and Douglass Woodruff. These names are not unknown, at least, to Catholic readers, and some have a wide currency in

the reading public generally. The authors, in the phrasing of the Foreword again, "have chosen characters who, in their opinion, are very English and very Catholic." The biographies accordingly sketched are, in the sequence the book gives them, Bede, Boniface of Germany, Alcuin, Alfred the Great, Wulstan of Worcester, Aelred of Rievaulx, the martyr Thomas of Canterbury, the mystic Juliana of Norwich, William Langland, John Fisher, the chancellor Thomas More, the martyr Edmund Campion, that redoubtable seventeenth-century Catholic woman, Mary Ward, the poet Crashaw, Bishop Challoner, and Cardinal Newman. Whether one considers the historic character delineated, or the biographer who has selected that particular character as typical of the English Catholic Way, here is a delightful pabulum for well-nigh every literary taste. The volume should enjoy a wide circulation. (FRANCIS J. HEMELT.)

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

### MISCELLANEOUS

Scholasticism and History. A. C. Pegis (*Thought*, June).
The Changing View of the Function of History. E. C. Barker (*Social Studies*, April).
The New Era of History. Ramsey Muir (*History*, March).
History—Dead or Alive? Marian W. Campbell (*Social Studies*, May).
Is History a Prerequisite to the Study of Social Problems? B. Othanel Smith (*Social Studies*, May).
Disarming History Books. Bernhard Ragner (*Commonweal*, April 8).
Approach to Medieval Research. David A. Elms (*Commonweal*, April 8).
Historical Research and the Preservation of the Past. V. H. Galbraith (*History*, March).
L'Histoire critique de l'Ancien Testament. I. Les Origines (continued). J. Coppens (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, May).
Herakles and the Gospels. Herbert J. Rose (*Harvard Theological Review*, April).
Two Problems in Melito's Homily on the Passion. Campbell Bonner (*Harvard Theological Review*, April).
The Genesis of the Religious Formula of the Trinity. Charles W. Lorry (*Anglican Theological Review*, April).
The Law on Plenary Councils. P. J. Hanrahan (*Clergy Review*, May).
Les 572 Questions du manuscrit de Douai 434. Description du tome I. P. Glorieux (*Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, April).
El Matrimonio entre Nosotros. J. G. Gutiérrez (*Christus*, May).
De codicibus Vitae I S. Francisci Assisiensis auctore Fr. Thoma Celanensi (continued). Michael Bihl, O.F.M. (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, January-April).
Heil, Heiland, Heilig. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie. Hans Eibl (*Stimmen der Zeit*, April).
Bellarmine, Jesuits, and Popery. Frederick J. Zwierlein (*Thought*, June).
Voltaire as a Truth-teller. G. O'Neill, S.J. (*Australasian Catholic Record*, April).
Le Centenaire de la Restauration du Bollandisme. F. Baix (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April).
Education for Family Life in the Secondary School Curriculum. G. N. Geer (*Social Studies*, April).

The Jewish Question in the Nincteenth Century. Salo W. Baron (*Journal of Modern History*, March).
A Brief Survey of Confucius' Political Thought. Stephen C. Y. Pan (*New Scholasticism*, April).
A Survey of Japanese Historiography. Hugh Borton (*American Historical Review*, April).
Estrategia Histórica del Marxismo. Abel Naranjo Villegas (*Universidad Catolica Bolivariana*, February-March).
Some Anthropological Books of 1937. John M. Cooper (*Primitive Man*, January-April).
Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt im Mittelalter. W. Kiesant (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Band 158, heft 1).
A propos de l'enseignement historique. Georges Lefebvre (*Revue Historique*, January-March).
La conversion de saint Paul. Charles Guignebert (*Revue Historique*, January-March).
L'influence du Jansénisme français à l'étranger. Edmond Preclin (*Revue Historique*, January-March).
Histoire ecclésiastique du Moyen Age. Edouard Jordan (*Revue Historique*, January-March).
The Canterbury Election of 1205-6. M. D. Knowles, O.S.B. (*English Historical Review*, April).
The Gospels in History: a Reconstruction. C. H. Dodd (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, April).
The Holy Inquisition, II. Francis Darwin (*Church Quarterly Review*, April-June).
The Monastic Library and Scriptorium at Ashridge. H. C. Schulz (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, April).
The Decline of Spain. E. J. Hamilton (*Economic History Review*, May). Historical revision.
The Medieval Jewish Counterpart to the Gild Merchant. L. Rabinowitz (*Economic History Review*, May).

EUROPEAN

St. Justin and St. Irenaeus. E. A. Ryan, S.J. (*Missionary*, May).
Hungary—Rooted in the Ages. Stephen Varga (*Rotarian*, May).
The Truth About the Greek Schism. D. D. Attwater (*Month*, May).
The Historical Background of the Florentine Renaissance. Hans Baron (*History*, March).
Aux origines de l'école théologique d'Anselme de Laon. D. O. Lottin (*Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, April).
Hail to Bobola, the New Saint of Poland. Louis J. Gallagher, S.J. (*America*, April 16).
Philip II and Spain. William T. Walsh (*Commonweal*, April 8).
Das Werden und Wirken der Polnischen Kapuzinerprovinz vor der Teilung des Reiches, 1680-1795 (continued). Zdzislaw Obertynski (*Collectanea Franciscana*, April).
Two Hundred Years of Spanish Church History. E. Allison Peers (*Thought*, June).
Kreuz und Geschichte: Reinhold Schneider. Erich Przywara (*Stimmen der Zeit*, April).
The Fourth Austria. John Murray (*Month*, May).

BRITISH EMPIRE

History in Convent Records. George Norman (*Month*, May).
Saint Thomas of Canterbury. Robert Speaight (*Commonweal*, April 15).
An Early Nonaggression Pact. Garrett Mattingly (*Journal of Modern History*, March). Treat of London, 1518.
Crank Who Was Canonized. W. J. Keough (*Columbia*, June). St. Thomas More.

Charles the Second of England. Clyde L. Grose (*American Historical Review*, April).
Side-Lights on Newman. W. J. Blyton (*Month*, April).
The Dry Bones of History. Kenneth Hare (*Month*, April). On British *Calendar of State Papers*.
Les patriotes de 1837-1838 (concluded). Pascal Potvin (*Le Canada Français*, May).
Cinq Frères Prêtres—Récollets morts au pays sous le régime français. Hugolin Lemay (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, May).
Mgr. Lartigue et les Patriotes de 1837. Léon Pouliot, S.J. (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, March).
Les Sept Frères Bédard. Pierre Georges Roy (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, March).
John Bede Polding (continued). J. J. McGovern (Australasian Catholic Record, April).

UNITED STATES

The Survey of Federal Archives in Philadelphia. James L. Whitehead (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, April).
The Possibilities of Philadelphia as a Center for Historical Research. Thomas S. Gates (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, April).
The Fate of the Exiled Acadians in South Carolina. Marguerite B. Hamer (*Journal of Southern History*, May).
Acadian Transients in South Carolina. Ruth Allison Hudnut and Hayes Baker-Crothers (*American Historical Review*, April).
Les Ascendants de Salomon Juneau, Fondateur de Milwaukee. E. Z. Massicotte (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, March).
Our Lady of Light Academy. Santa Fé. Sr. M. Lilliana Owens, S.L. (*New Mexico Historical Review*, April).
The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880 (continued). Frank D. Reeve (*New Mexico Historical Review*, April).
Spanish Louisiana and the West: The Economic Significance of the Ste. Genevieve District. J. Manuel Espinosa (*Missouri Historical Review*, April).
The Chronicle of Pérez de Ribas. Jerome V. Jacobsen (*Mid-America*, April).
Donato Gasparri, New Mexico-Colorado Mission Founder. Edward R. Vollmar (*Mid-America*, April).
The Evolution of a Frontier Society in Missouri, 1815-1828 (continued). Hattie M. Anderson (*Missouri Historical Review*, April).
Memoirs of Lurana Mary Francis, Mother Foundress of the Franciscan Sisters of the Atonement (continued). E. U. Lex (*Lamp*, April, May).
William Howlett, Pioneer Missionary and Historian. Thomas F. O'Connor (*Mid-America*, April).
Father Joseph Anthony Lutz, Pioneer Priest, 1801-1861 (continued). John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, April, May).
Illustrious Emigrant Authors. James W. Lane (*Catholic World*, June).
Immigrant Institutions in Cleveland. Wellington G. Fordyce (*Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly*, April).
James Ryder Randall in Louisiana. J. E. Uhler (*Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, May).
History at Home. E. B. Wesley (*Minnesota History*, March).

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW.)*

American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Semi-Annual Meeting held in Boston, April 21, 1937* (Worcester, Mass.: The American Antiquarian Society, 1937, pp. 182). Samuel Flagg Bemis contributes an excellent survey of the Rayneval Memoranda of 1782, three copies of which are reprinted here in parallel columns; Hiram Bingham writes on Elihu Yale; and Robert W. J. Vail edits some California letters of the Gold Rush period.

American Historical Society, *Americana*, Volume XXII, First and Second Quarter (New York: Am. Hist. Society, 1938, pp. 231, 410).

Anderson, William, *American Government* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1938, pp. vii-1080, $3.75). "The author felt . . . that after some years of experience in teaching American government from the functional point of view he had some contributions to make that might be found helpful by other teachers. This book is the result. It covers all the ordinary topics but has some additional chapters on subjects not usually dealt with in the texts." Among these additional topics are: "The Courts and Law Enforcement," "Government Regulation of the Economic Order," "Conservation and Agriculture," and "Labor and Public Welfare." Each chapter has excellent up-to-date references and there is a good index.

Benson, Adolph B., and Hedin, Naboth, *Swedes in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 614, $3.00).

Bining, Arthur Cecil, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg, Penna.: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1938, pp. 227).

Boak, A. E. R., and Hyma, Albert, Slosson, Preston, *The Growth of European Civilization* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938, pp. xxv, 613).

Bogardus, Emory, and Lewis, Robert H., *Social Life and Personality* (New York: Silver Burdette Co., 1938, pp. ix, 581, $1.80). This is a high school textbook in sociology "which places the emphasis upon the normal rather than upon the abnormal way of living." There is a Unit devoted to "Religion as a Social Institution."

Braun, Albert, *Der Klerus des Bistums Konstanz im Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster i/W., Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1938, pp. xix, 200, 7.35 Rm.).

Brendon, J. A., Editor, *A Dictionary of British History* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1937, pp. vii, 602, $5.00). A useful compilation of the leading personages and principal events of British history. It contains, however, such outmoded blunders as "The Celtic Church which did not admit the supremacy of the pope", and "proof of her (Mary Stuart) complicity in the Babington plot."

Chambers, R. W., *The Place of Saint Thomas More in English Literature and History* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., pp. vii, 125, $2.00). It might be said that this essay is an examination of the two conflicting views regarding Sir Thomas More as held respectively by the majority of English historians and the Saint's legal biographers, such as Lord Campbell and Sir James Mackintosh. It also develops certain aspects of More's character and genius and discusses his reputation as a writer and a statesman during the past four hundred years.

Coker, Francis William, *Readings in Political Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938, pp. xv, 717, $4.00).

Crisenoy, Pierre de, *Sainte Marie-Madeleine Postel* (Paris: La Bonne Presse, 1937, pp. xiii, 191).

De Vries, Josephus, S.J., *Instituiones Philosophiae Scholasticae*, Pars II, *Critica* (Freiburg i/B.: Herder, 1937, pp. 176). A short manual on criteriology, based on the author's *Denken und Sein*.

Farrell, Allan P., S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1938, pp. xviii, 478, $4.75).

Fink, Leo Gregory, *Graduate Nurses: A Symposium of Ethical Inspiration* (New York: The Paulist Press, 1938, pp. xii, 306).

Frost, Father Bede, O.S.B., *St. John of the Cross* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937, pp. xiii, 411, $4.00).

Gilson, Etienne, *The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1938, pp. xiii, 551, $5.00).

Goodenough, Erwin R., *The Politics of Philo Judaeus Practice and Theory, Together with a General Bibliography*, by Howard L. Goodhart and Erwin R. Goodenough (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 348, $3.75).

Gundolf, Friedrich, *Anfänge deutscher Geschichtsschreibung* (New York: Nordemann Publishing Co., 1938, pp. 176, $3.00).

Haile, Rev. Bernard, O.F.M., *A Catechism and Guide: Navajo-English* (Saint Michaels, Arizona: The St. Michael's Press, 1937, pp. 176). Written by one who ranks as the foremost authority on Navajo linguistics.

Hamayde, L. de la, *Au Service de la Paroisse* (Paris: La Bonne Presse, 1938, pp. 140).

Hedges, Joseph Edward, *Commercial Banking and the Stock Market Before 1863* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. 164, xiv). Deals with the problem of the employment of commercial banking funds in the stock market.

*Institutiones Theologiae Moralis ad normam Juris Canonici*, quas veteri Compendio a P. Gabriele de Varceno, O.M.Cap. confecto, P. Seraphinus a Loiano, S. Theol. Lector, eiusdem Ordinis, suffecit. Vol. III *Theologia Specialis* Pars IV, *De Justitia eiusque laesione.*—Pars V, *De Peculiaribus Clericorum et Religiosorum obligationibus* (Turin, Italy: Casa Editrice Marietti, 1937, pp. 1004).

Janssens-Morandi, *Introductio Biblica seu Hermeneutica Sacra in omnes libros Veteris ac Novi Foederis*, Editio XXIX, Taurinensis documentis et decretis ultimis ditata novisque curis reformata et aucta (Turin, Italy: Casa Editrice Marietti, 1938, pp. 430).

Jerrold, Douglas, *The Future of Freedom* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1938, pp. 306, $2.50).

Käppeli, Th., O.P., *Le Procès contre Thomas Waleys, O.P.*: Dissertationes Historicae, Fasc. VI. (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1936, pp. 247).

Lawson, F. Melvyn, and Lawson, Verna Kopka, *Our America Today and Yesterday* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1938, pp. xii, 864, $2.50).

Lockmiller, David A., *Magoon in Cuba: A History of the Second Intervention: 1906-1909* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xi, 252, $3.00). The story of the second American intervention and of the civil administration of Provisional Governor Charles E. Magoon of Cuba. The settlement of the Catholic Church property question is satisfactorily explained.

Lunt, W. E., *History of England* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Revised Edition, 1938, pp. xvi, 920, $4.25). A second edition of a very popular textbook on the history of England, in which Professor Lunt has incorporated many of the suggestions made by teachers and students who have used the book in class. More space has been given to the period from 1815 to 1905, and a new chapter has been added on the economic, social and intellectual developments of the nineteenth century. "The entire volume has been revised in the light of the results of the historical research of the past ten years, and the reading lists have been brought up to date."

MacKinney, Loren Carey, *The Medieval World* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938, pp. xiii, 801, $3.75).

Mandonnet, Pierre, O.P., *Saint Dominique: l'Idée, l'Homme et l'Oeuvre*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie, 1937, pp. 322-280, 60Fr.).

Masson, Robert W., and Stratton, Samuel S., *Financial Instruments and Institutions* (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1938, pp. xiv, 494, $3.00). Furnishes the student of business administration with fifty-five cases through which he "can gain a thorough understanding of the financial function in business and the workings of the financial system that has evolved for facilitating financial operations." There is a selected bibliography, an alphabetical list of cases, and a good index.

Menges, Hieronymus, Dr., *Die Bilderlehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1938, pp. xiii, 190, 4.50 R.M.).

Mitchell, R. J., *John Tiptoft: An Italianate Englishmen, 1427-1470* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938, pp. xi, 263, $4.50).

Mullett, Charles F., *The British Empire* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938, pp. x, 768, $3.75).

Nettels, Curtis P., *The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938, pp. xx, 748, $4.00).

Noonan, Carroll John, *Nativism in Connecticut: 1829-1860* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1938, pp. vi, 351).

O'Sullivan, William, *The Economic History of Cork City from the Earliest Times to the Act of Union* (New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1937, pp. 383, $4.50). Although this book is primarily a study of the economic background of Cork, it contains sufficient history to permit the reader to visualize the great Irish city in its entire social life.

Power, Patrick, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Dioceses* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937, pp. 402, 7s 6d).

*Saint Albertus Magnus* (Racine, Wisconsin: Saint Catherine's Press, 1938, pp. 62, $1.00). A compilation of essays revealing the secret of Saint Albert's consecration of himself to God and to man, by members of the Dominican Order, done into English and edited by the Dominican Sisters of Saint Albertus College.

Salley, A. S., Editor, *Sack and Destruction at the City of Columbia, S. C.*, by William Gilmore Simms, second edition, edited with notes (Oglethorpe, Georgia: Oglethorpe University Press, 1937, p. xx, 106). Simms was for over thirty years (1825-1859) one of the most popular of American novelists and poets. Chapter XVII describes the burning of the Ursuline Convent and Academy and the profanation of church vestments and consecrated vessels. "A sacrilegious squad drank their whiskey from the sacred chalice" (p. 62).

Sheed, F. J., *Communism and Man* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1938, pp. xiii, 247, $2.00).

Sommer-Seckendorff, Ellen M. F., *Studies in the Life of Robert Kilwardby, O.P.*, Dissertationes Historicae, Fasc. VIII (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1937, pp. xviii, 191).

*The Eastern Branches of the Catholic Church: Six Studies on the Oriental Rites.* Compiled by Liturgical Arts Society. Introduction by Donald Attwater (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938, pp. xi, 110, $1.50).

Trevelyan, George Macaulay, *History of England*, new edition (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937, pp. 756, $4.00). Eleven years after the first edition of this well-known text-book, the author has revised it and has added four chapters in place of the original Epilogue, bringing it down to 1919. Professor Dunham's chronological outline at the end of the book (pp. 737-768) will be found of value to the student.

Vann, Gerald, O.P., *Morals Makyth Man* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938, pp. xii, 240, $2.50).

Ward, Maisie, *The Oxford Groups* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1938, pp. 44, $.50). An evaluation from the Catholic standpoint of a contemporary movement which originated in the United States and which, not with-